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THE NEGRO PEASANT TURNS CITYWARD

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THE NEGRO PEASANT TURNS CITYWARD

Effects of Recent Migrations to Northern Centers

BY

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FOREWORD

THE present volume is the first of several which are to appear as a result of research conducted during the last four years under subsidy by the Social Science Research Council and the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. Grants were made for the specific study of *Negro* population movements. Financial support had been solicited for what seemed to be a relatively small part of the general field of internal migration, which had assumed great importance in the light of the immigration quota laws of 1921 and 1924.

During the entire period of freedom, Negroes have voluntarily moved from the South to the North and West. At times the migration has been large-scale and far-flung. At others it has been a slow-moving and narrow current. Conditions in the North and South during the World War produced an unprecedented flood. From 1915 until 1920 thousands daily left southern farms and plantations at the call of industry in the North and in the Central West. There are indications that since the latter date the channels opened by the war-time demand have continued to carry strong currents. In many northern centers the complexion of the city has been greatly altered and new and emergent social situations created.

Much has been written regarding Negro migration. The first requisite, therefore, has been careful scrutiny of the vast amount of material already in print on the subject. During the years 1926 to 1929 Miss Kennedy has devoted herself to careful and exhaustive work on an annotated bibliography. In this quest, the entire literature on the subject from 1890 to date has been combed, and most of the material prior to 1890 has been covered.

Modern sociologists, welcoming the seeming precision that the statistical method affords, have tended to begin their attack on a field of research by gathering detailed information for large numbers of individuals or by applying mathematical methods to published numerical series. All too often the result is mere demonstration of the obvious or reiteration of what has already long been accepted.

It is an open question whether vast volumes of statistics can throw any greater light on many topics of sociological import than can the carefully weighed opinions of a considerable number of individuals so placed as to have had adequate opportunity for large-scale investigation and with the necessary mental qualifications to arrive at sound generalizations from their experience. This is probable particularly when the opinions are expressed after elaborate survey by statistical and other approaches. Throughout the country there have been many well-trained individuals who have been careful students of Negro population trends. Furthermore, situations have developed in many localities, particularly in the North, which have necessitated elaborate and painstaking investigation. Until now no one has synthesized these scattered opinions and survey results to discover wherein there is practically universal agreement and wherein there is confusion.

The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward—while containing a brief background description of the migration of Negroes and the causes which produced these movements—is concerned primarily with the effects of migration upon the Negro migrants themselves, on the northern Negro group, on members of other races resident in the North, and upon the institutions in the centers in which the newcomers have settled. The period covered is that since 1915, and the scene is laid in various cities throughout the North; these are the years during which movement has been maximum, and these the goals of the vast bulk of those who moved. Further, it is in northern cities during the past fifteen years that the most thorough studies and the most careful observations have been made.

The volume is decidedly unusual in method of treatment. In the several chapters various significant aspects have been discussed. The author has in each instance placed first such generalizations as legitimately could be drawn from the mass of information. Interlarded between these are summarizations and specific citations which substantiate. The reader finds it easy to make a quick survey of the entire field and wherever his interest is most keen, to go into fuller detail. The carefully prepared bibliography in the Appendix is referred to in the footnote references by number, page designations being usually given. Supplementing and elaborating these, the second part of the Appendix comprehends an exhaustive topical arrangement of the bibliographical material, much more full than the footnote references, and making it possible for the student of a particular phase to reach the available literature in the very shortest time. Many citations which constitute mere re-wording of previously published material are not included, however.

The usefulness of the volume will be extensive. No finer introduction to the study of modern municipal conditions in the North is available today. Research workers dealing with the effects of migration will find it indispensable, and as a source book for those interested in race problems it is of highest value.

FRANK ALEXANDER ROSS

PREFACE

Negro migration is by no means a new phenomenon in the United States, for it has been present ever since the first introduction of colored slaves. During the pre-Civil War days these movements, of course, were not voluntary but depended on the sale of slaves to plantation owners. As new lands were opened up in the far South and in the Southwest, planters took with them the colored laborers who were necessary for the operation of their farms. After Emancipation Negroes continued to move from one section of the South to another; sometimes spontaneously in the effort to find unoccupied land, sometimes at the instigation of outside agencies (such as the Freedman's Bureau or colored leaders who at various times stirred up a regular exodus of Negroes), and in other instances, at the command of plantation owners to whom they were bound by financial obligations. Until the World War the major trend of these movements of Negroes had been South and West, for it was only in this direction that agricultural workers were needed and the colored people have always been predominantly farm laborers.

Throughout our history the Negroes have constituted a peasant element in our population, for as a mass, they have been restrained in the rural areas of the South. During the days of slavery their principal occupation was that of tilling the land and they had no chance to escape from the plantations. Since the Civil War they have continued to be bound to the soil because they have lacked money and experience with which to break into other fields. Many of them, too, have been subjected to practical peonage, since in some of the southern states a tenant farmer is required to stay with his land owner as long as he is in debt to him. By seeing to it that the colored tenant has not been able to secure enough profit from his year's work to pay off his obligations, the owners have frequently succeeded in keeping Negroes on the land even against their will.

In recent decades there has been a movement to southern cities where colored workers have found positions in common labor, and domestic and personal service. During the World War period the demand for laborers in northern industries provided an opportunity for Negroes to turn from the cultivation of the land to the urban life of the North. The years since 1915 have witnessed an enormous increase in the Negro population of northern cities. Whether these colored workers have come directly from the farms or from a short sojourn in southern cities, their migration is linked with the trend from the open country, which has been characteristic of all peoples in recent decades. At last the Negro is ceasing to be simply a tiller of the soil, and is entering a wider range of economic activities.

The present study is concerned only with the effects of colored migration to northern centers in the last fifteen years. The author realizes full well that it covers only a small field and omits many ramifications which are significant and important. This northward trend of southern Negroes has inevitably affected the white people of the South and the colored who have remained behind. Furthermore, the effects of recent movements are closely linked with the economic and social conditions in the South and with situations resulting from previous migrations to cities of the North. The whole subject of Negro migration is so vast that it has been necessary in this monograph to make such a temporal and geographical selection.

The shift to the North since about 1915 is especially important (1) because a large number of individuals have been involved; (2) because those migrating have entered a totally new environment; and (3) because the whites have been obliged to adapt themselves to a sudden tremendous increase in a single population group. Factors such as these constitute one of the most vitally important subjects for sociological investigation.

The rapid increase of Negroes in northern cities has led to numerous studies of the resulting conditions, for it was clearly evident that this alteration in the numerical composition of a distinct ethnic element must inevitably affect the social processes of the groups within which they settled. It has naturally been impossible for the same person or committee to make a careful study of conditions in all sections and cities of the North, and unfortunately, there has been a general tendency among writers on race problems to take the findings of one or two investigations and apply these conclusions to the entire North.

Attempt is here made to summarize the conclusions of leading students of race problems who from long experience are familiar with conditions throughout the North, and to check these by synthesis of various special surveys and by governmental statistics, particularly those of the Census Bureau. The method, which is applicable to many fields of study, is that of amassing opinions and comparing them with available factual material. Such comparisons enable us to check up current conflicting opinions and beliefs in the light of actuality. In some cases we can arrive at definite conclusions, and in others point the way to further needed investigations.

The source material which has been used in this study does not cover all the literature dealing with the effects of Negro movements to northern cities. A full bibliography on the subject will be published elsewhere. The present study deals only with those sources which are considered most significant and valuable and which are, for the most part, available for other readers and hence are likely to play a part in the thinking of the layman on this subject of Negro migration and race problems. In all more than a thousand titles were carefully examined, and from these there was compiled the present bibliography consisting of 247 specific references. These constitute the bulk of the significant and relevant documents.

A brief description of the principal characteristics of recent movements is found in Chapter I. No attempt has been made to give a complete picture of Negro migration. The extent and nature of the population shifts which have occurred during the last fifteen years are dealt with only at sufficient length to furnish a background for the rest of the study. Likewise, the discussion in Chapter II of the causes of migration is limited to a consideration of only the principal and outstanding factors which have motivated the recent influx of Negroes to the North. Few specific references to source material are given in these background chapters; in each case the discussion is the result of a synthesis of the sources listed in the classified bibliography. Chapter III contains in Table 8 the information found in leading surveys of specific cities, so that knowledge of the material concerning a particular city or subject is at once available. Table 9, in the same chapter, indicates the subjects covered by certain investigators or committees in various sections of the North. Consequently, if a student is interested in a particular city, he should supplement Table 8 by referring to the descriptions appended to Table 9, wherein will be found the specific cities covered by the surveys listed in that Table.

Chapters IV to XII deal with major economic and social effects of this rapid growth of Negro groups in northern cities. Although Washington, D.C., and Baltimore are border cities and do not strictly belong in this survey, references to conditions in these two places are occasionally included, both because Negroes consider themselves as getting into the North when they migrate to either of these localities, and because conditions in these centers provide a control situation with which to compare typically northern cities.

In these chapters the method of presenting the general conclusions which have been derived from a comparison and synthesis of reports and discussions on the several subjects is different from that usually followed. It consists, first, in the author's generalizations, followed by substantiating summaries and quotations from the source material. These latter have been segregated from the former by indentation in order to make a sharp distinction between the author's deductions and the basic data. Footnote references, giving specific page citation, refer by number to the alphabetically arranged bibliography in the Appendix. Chapter XIII summarizes the major conclusions and the recommendations which have developed out of the critical analysis.

Undoubtedly some of the reports here used are partial and far from being as comprehensive as might be desired. Further, there is certainly considerable difference in the reliability of the several studies. However, they furnish material for comparison and checking with each other, and in combination with more elaborate studies and with opinions of leading students, indicate significant trends and phases in the interrelations of whites and Negroes in northern cities, and in the adjustment of the migrants to their new environment.

The Appendix contains a general bibliography, which constitutes an amplification of the footnote citations in the various chapters. (Part A.) It does not include every reference to the subject. Those that have been omitted are mere repetitions of earlier discussions by the same or another author, and those which have been found to make no new contributions. In Part B the references have been classified by subject matter so that a student interested in a particular topic, such as the causes of migration, or the health or educational situation among Negroes in the North, can easily find the available published material which is relevant.

Summarizing as it does the theories and factual data published to date (early 1930) on the subject of the effects of Negro migration to northern cities, this study enables students of race problems in the North readily to grasp the material already at hand on the subject. It also indicates those phases which so far have been most fully investigated, and points the way to further research.

The author is grateful to the Harlem Library, in which the extensive collection of material proved very useful, and to the National Urban League and its official publication, *Opportunity*, and finally to those individuals and groups, who, faced with practical exigencies calling for prompt solution, have pushed through the surveys which constitute the basis of this study. She also wishes to express her indebtedness to Professor Frank A. Ross for his invaluable assistance and encouragement during the carrying out of this study, and to thank Professors Robert M. MacIver, Robert E. Chaddock, and Alvan A. Tenney for the criticisms and suggestions which they have offered. Grateful acknowledgment is given to Dorothy R. Ross for her help in editing the manuscript and correcting the proof.

L. V. K.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, APRIL, 1930.

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SECTION I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

Characteristics of Recent Negro Migrations

Migration of people from one section of the country to another has at all times been a conspicuous phenomenon in the history of the United States. From the days of the first colonization of the Atlantic seacoast there has been a continuous, general flow of population. The movements of colored people have constituted an important phase of this perpetual flux of inhabitants, for migration of Negroes is likewise no new phenomenon. At the close of every census period statistics of the birth-place and residence of Negroes have indicated a steady movement of colored people from one section to another within the South, from rural areas to urban centers, and from the South to the North and West, or from the latter to the South. The movements which were apparent during the inter-census period 1910 to 1920 were especially significant because they revealed a decided increase in the volume of migration and a peculiar change in the major direction and the length of the moves which were made.

According to the 1920 census the proportion of Negroes who had moved from one state to another was larger than it had ever been in previous decades. (See Table I.)

The major part of the increased volume of migration among colored people took the form of a movement out of the South, and during these ten years the North and West showed a net gain of over 330,000 Negroes. Although this number is considerably less than was generally estimated at the time the migration was at its height, yet it is sufficiently large to involve important economic and social consequences, particularly since there was a distinct trend toward those states and sections of the country where the Negroes had previously been almost inconspicuous because of their small numbers. A relatively large increase in such communities connotes more noticeable results than would the same aggregate increase in a community where Negroes formed a larger proportion of the total population and where race relations were already established on the basis of large numbers.

TABLE I.—NEGROES BORN IN THE UNITED STATES AND LIVING IN STATE OTHER THAN THAT OF BIRTH

(Source: *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. ii, p. 623; and Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 71.)

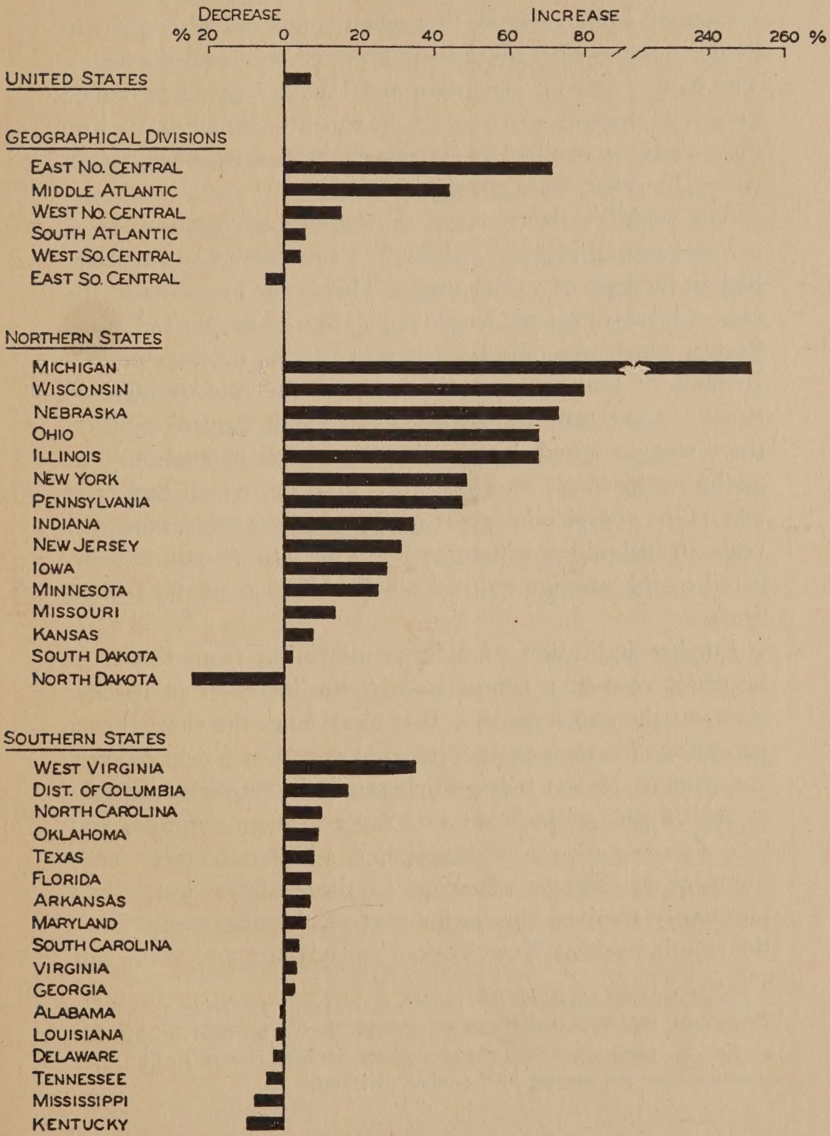
Year	*Number*	*Per cent*
1920	2,054,242	19.9
1910	1,616,608	16.6
1900	1,373,996	15.6

This rapid addition to the number of colored people in the North was also significant because, for the most part, it was crowded into the latter half of the decade and particularly the years 1916 to 1918, when the flow of Negroes to the North became so noticeable that much excitement and discussion were aroused both in the North and South and among white and colored groups.

In considering the increase in Negro population by finer divisions, rather than by general sections of the country, it is evident that during this decade the largest proportionate gains were in the northern states. In the states of the Middle Atlantic and East and West North Central divisions there were very large numerical, as well as proportionate, gains. It was into the cities of these areas that the Negroes thronged. In the southern divisions, the South Atlantic and East and

Per Cent Change of Negro Population,* 1910-1920

(Source: *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. ii, pp. 38-46)



* New England, Mountain and Pacific States are omitted because the absolute numbers involved are very small.

West South Central, there were either actual numerical decreases or gains so small that when compared with gains in earlier decades they must be interpreted as actual decreases. The New England, Mountain and Pacific regions contained very few Negroes in 1910. Consequently, small drifts into these sections resulted in extremely high rates of increase, which, however, were not significant.[1]

The Middle Atlantic states showed an increase of over 43 per cent among Negroes, while the East North Central states had an increase of 71 per cent. This is far in excess of the rate of increase for the Negro population of the entire United States, which was only 6.5 per cent for the ten-year period. In none of the southern divisions did the rate of increase equal 6.5 per cent and in the East South Central division there was an actual decrease in the colored population. In addition, the West South Central division, which had been one of the conspicuous goals of the previous migrations, reveals an insignificant increase when its rate of gain is compared to the average gain of all the Negroes in the United States.

Further indication of a large migration from South to North is seen in a comparison of the increases in specific states of the two sections. It is clear from the chart that a percentage increase of 47.9 per cent for New York, of 67.1 for Illinois, of 251.0 for Michigan is in startling contrast to such a rate of increase as 2.8 per cent in Virginia, and to a decrease of 7.4 in Mississippi. Not only were large numbers of Negroes flocking to those states which had previously received the major part of the migrations from the South, such as New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, but at the same time they were moving to some of the more northern states (e. g. Michigan and Wisconsin) which before 1910 had shown little attraction for colored people. On the other hand, few of the southern states showed gains to any extent in excess of the average rate of increase for all Negroes and were losing rather than attracting colored people. West Virginia, as usual, was a striking exception, as the mining interests in that state continued to draw colored laborers. Florida and Arkansas, which in previous decades had been the chief points of attraction, did little more than keep up with the average gain of the Negroes in the entire country, while all of the West South Central states showed decreases in their colored population.

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[1] For absolute numbers the reader is referred to Table 6, vol. ii, *Fourteenth Census*. Great caution should always be used in drawing conclusions from percentage changes where the base is very small. This situation does not prevail in the other divisions.

The migration which began during the World War is significant because of the direction of the movement as well as because of its extent. Whereas the major trend of previous movements had been south and west with a continuous but comparatively slight drift to the North, this latest migration was characterized by an entirely unprecedented shift to the North and East.

Within any given decade Negroes have migrated in all directions, but the major trend or net result of such movements is indicated by the "center of the Negro population" as it has been computed after each census enumeration.[1] Such an estimated point, of course, gives no definite information concerning the volume of the shift during a decade, since counter currents of migration would tend to neutralize each other. Yet it does suggest the dominant direction in which Negroes have moved within a given period.

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[1] For a discussion of "center of population" see *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. i, p. 32; and W. C. Eells, "A Mistaken Conception of the Center of Population," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, vol. xxv, pp. 33-41, March 1930.

TABLE 2.—CENTER OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, 1790, 1880-1920

(Source: Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915*, p. 41; *Negro Year Book 1925-26*, p. 441.)

Census Year	*Approximate Location of Center by Important Towns*	*Decennial Movement in Miles*
1790	25 miles west-southwest of Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia	
1880	10.4 miles east of Lafayette, Walker County, Georgia	443 miles southwest
1890	15.7 miles southwest of Lafayette, Walker County, Georgia	20.5 miles southwest
1900	10.7 miles northeast of Fort Payne, Dekalb County, Alabama	9.5 miles southwest
1910	5.4 miles north-northeast of Fort Payne, Dekalb County, Alabama	5.8 miles west-southwest
1920	1.8 miles north-northeast of Rising Fawn, Georgia	21.5 miles northeast

According to the 1920 Census, all of the states in the far South showed a decrease in the number of Negroes born in the border states. Moreover, such states as Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, which had previously registered a large number of Negroes coming from other southern divisions, showed a decrease in immigration from practically every state hitherto acting as an important feeder for these newer regions. For example, by 1910 Arkansas and Texas had drawn large numbers of migrants from Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia and other more northern and eastern states. In 1920, however, the only important sources of immigration were found to be Louisiana and Mississippi; there was a decided loss in the number of migrants from the remaining states.

In contrast to this decrease in the number of Negroes migrating to southern states, the chief industrial sections of the North received a significant increase in the number of colored people born in the South. New York, for instance, revealed the following contrasts in 1910 and 1920.[1]

Negroes Living in	*Born in*		
New York	N. Car.	S. Car.	Ga.
1920	13,326	13,102	8,650
1910	10,283	6,698	3,792

Pennsylvania in 1920 also showed a gain in the number of southern-born Negroes.

Negroes Living in	*Born in*					
Pennsylvania	Va.	N. Car.	S. Car.	Ga.	Fla.	Ala.
1920	60,843	16,664	11,624	16,196	5,370	9,994
1910	48,995	9,735	2,113	1,578	393	545

Similar increases of colored immigrants were found in the East North Central region, of which Illinois and Ohio are the most important industrial states.

Negroes Living in	*Born in*					
Illinois	Ky.	Tenn.	Miss.	Ala.	Ga.	La.
1920	16,470	23,995	19,485	13,668	10,185	8,078
1910	13,314	15,303	4,612	3,208	2,874	1,609
Ohio						
1920	24,595	12,088	3,346	17,588	13,387	990
1910	18,835	3,481	475	781	1,549	233

States along the Atlantic Coast tended to attract migrants from those southern states which are on the eastern coast, while the North Central division drew newcomers along the route of the Mississippi River.[2]

In yet another way this recent migration tended to differ in its general characteristics from previous movements.

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[1] *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. ii, p. 637; *Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915*, pp. 75-76. States mentioned in the following illustrations are those which are the most significant sources of immigration in each case.

[2] See Bibliography, reference 57 (n), p. 321.

Whereas before 1910 the colored people had shown a strong tendency to move short distances to nearby states either within the South or across the Mason and Dixon line, the latest migrations were frequently long-distance moves from the far South. Negroes from Florida and Georgia migrated straight through to Pennsylvania and New York; many from Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana went to Illinois and even Michigan. The earlier emigration had been almost wholly from such border states as Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky.

This whole contrast in the source of migration before and after 1910 is well summarized by J. A. Hill, of the United States Census Bureau:[1]

> The northward migration of Negroes in the last decade has been to a much larger extent than ever before a migration from the far South. The earlier northward migration was, as already noted, mostly from the more northern States of the South. Even as recently as 1910, 48 per cent, or nearly one-half, of the southern-born Negroes living in northern States came from two States—Virginia and Kentucky. The migration between 1910 and 1920 reduced the proportion born in these two States to 31.6 per cent. On the other hand, the proportion of northern Negroes coming from the States farther south, or from what we may term the cotton-belt States, including in this class South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, increased from 18.2 per cent of the total number of southern-born Negroes living in the North in 1910 to 40.5 per cent of the total in 1920. The absolute number of Negroes in the North who were natives of these States increased from 75,517 in 1910 to 298,739 in 1920, so that there were nearly four times as many in 1920 as there were in 1910.

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[1] Reference 47 (a), pp. 479-80.

Table 3, cited from the same source, paints the picture clearly, though due to the presence of secondary migrations, probably conservatively.

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF SOUTHERN-BORN NEGROES LIVING IN THE NORTH * IN 1910 AND 1920, AND NUMBER AND PER CENT OF INCREASE FROM 1910 TO 1920, BY STATE OF BIRTH

State of birth	*Number of southern-born Negroes in the North*		*Increase from 1910 to 1920*	
	1910	1920	Number	Per cent
South Atlantic States				
Delaware	8,729	9,144	415	4.8
Maryland	33,970	39,636	5,666	16.7
District of Columbia	8,058	9,728	1,670	20.7
Virginia	130,048	148,303	18,255	14.0
West Virginia	6,186	7,887	1,701	27.5
North Carolina	39,019	55,211	16,192	41.5
South Carolina	16,229	42,952	26,723	164.7
Georgia	15,266	73,898	58,632	384.1
Florida	3,096	16,800	13,704	442.6
Total	260,601	403,559	142,958	54.9
East South-Central States				
Kentucky	69,487	84,684	15,197	21.9
Tennessee	42,076	76,509	34,433	81.8
Alabama	10,730	65,128	54,398	507.0
Mississippi	12,716	49,292	36,576	287.6
Total	135,009	275,613	140,604	104.1
West South-Central States				
Arkansas	6,343	16,280	9,937	156.7
Louisiana	5,262	17,741	12,479	237.2
Oklahoma	2,443	7,582	5,139	210.4
Texas	5,875	16,648	10,773	183.4
Total	19,923	58,251	38,328	192.4
TOTAL NORTHERN NEGROES *	415,533	737,423	321,890	77.5

* Includes all Negroes resident in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East and West North-Central divisions.

Another significant feature of Negro movements has been the tendency to concentrate in urban centers. Like the white population, the colored has for decades shown a steadily mounting proportion of city dwellers as compared with rural. Yet, while it is true that this urban trend among Negroes is no new phenomenon, it has latterly assumed unusual prominence. Practically all of the migrants to the North went to cities rather than to rural communities. The predominance of the urban element among the Negroes of the North and the increase in this urban trend is seen from Table 4.

TABLE 4.—PER CENT URBAN AMONG NEGROES IN THE NORTH

By Divisions

(Source: *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. ii, p. 79.)

	Per cent Urban	
	1920	*1910*
United States	34.0	27.3
New England	90.3	85.1
Middle Atlantic	86.2	81.2
East North-Central	87.2	76.6
West North-Central	76.3	67.7

There is also a tendency to concentrate in the largest cities, as is seen from the fact that in Illinois 60 per cent of the Negro population of the state were living in Chicago; 68 per cent of the colored people of Michigan were in Detroit; and more than 75 per cent of the New York Negroes concentrated in New York City.[1] Furthermore, eight cities, Chicago, Detroit, New York, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, contained 38 per cent of the entire colored population of the North, in contrast to only 20 per cent of the total northern population.

In the South the Negroes have shown a similar tendency to drift away from the rural districts into the cities. With one exception (Kentucky) even those states which revealed in

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[1] Reference 47 (a), pp. 481-2.

1920 an actual decrease in Negroes had at the same time an increase of urban colored population. In considering the southern states which had a percentage increase for 1910-1920 less than the average rate for the colored population of the whole country, it is clear that all of them had experienced a relatively large gain in the urban districts. The rural districts must, therefore, have been the heaviest losers from migration during the decade, for even the migrants who stayed within the South drifted towards the cities. Movements in the South as well as northward have had a distinctly urban aspect.

Table 5 indicates the significant increase of Negro population in large cities during the decade 1910 to 1920. It is evident that in the South the increase of colored population in these largest centers was usually greater than the average rate of increase for the Negroes in the United States. At the same time, this extra increase, which was probably due chiefly to immigration, tended throughout the South to be less than the increase of the white population of these cities, indicating that the whites were moving into these urban centers more rapidly than the Negroes. In the North, however, the large industrial districts saw a tremendous addition to their colored population during this decade. Moreover, the Negroes increased much more rapidly than did the white population. Many other northern cities with smaller aggregate colored populations had similar startling rates of increase, and throughout the North this influx of Negroes into urban centers was a particularly noticeable phase of the migration.

Since 1920 the removal of southern Negroes to northern regions has continued practically without cessation, although with variation from year to year in the volume of influx. It is impossible to make any accurate statements concerning the number of Negroes who have migrated in the last ten years,

TABLE 5.—NEGRO POPULATION, AND PER CENT INCREASE BY RACE, 1910 AND 1920, FOR CITIES HAVING 25,000 OR MORE NEGROES IN 1920

(Source: Computed from *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. ii, tables 13, 14 and 17.)

City	*Negro Population*		*Per cent Increase*	*Per cent Increase*
NORTHERN			Negro,	White,
	1920	1910	1910-1920	1910-1920
Detroit, Mich.	40,838	5,741	611.3	107.0
Cleveland, O.	34,451	8,448	307.8	38.1
Chicago, Ill.	109,458	44,103	148.2	21.0
New York City	152,467	91,709	66.3	16.9
Manhattan	*109,133*	*60,534*	*80.3*	*—4.3*
Brooklyn	*31,912*	*22,708*	*40.5*	*23.3*
Indianapolis, Ind.	34,678	21,816	59.0	31.9
Philadelphia, Pa.	134,229	84,459	58.9	15.4
St. Louis, Mo.	69,854	43,960	58.9	9.4
Cincinnati, O.	30,079	19,639	53.2	7.9
Pittsburgh, Pa.	37,725	25,623	47.2	8.3
Kansas City, Mo.	30,719	23,566	30.4	30.6
SOUTHERN				
Norfolk, Va.	43,392	25,039	73.3	70.5
Houston, Tex.	33,960	23,929	41.9	90.2
Jacksonville, Fla.	41,520	29,293	41.7	76.4
Birmingham, Ala.	70,230	52,305	34.3	35.1
Baltimore, Md.	108,322	84,749	27.8	32.1
Atlanta, Ga.	62,796	51,902	21.0	34.0
Savannah, Ga.	39,179	33,246	17.8	38.5
Memphis, Tenn.	61,181	52,441	16.7	28.7
Washington, D. C.	109,966	94,446	16.4	38.4
Richmond, Va.	54,041	46,733	15.6	45.4
New Orleans, La.	100,930	89,262	13.1	14.6
Charleston, S. C.	32,326	31,056	4.1	28.2
Louisville, Ky.	40,087	40,522	—1.1	6.2
Nashville, Tenn.	35,633	36,523	—2.4	12.0

for no such comprehensive figures as the census enumeration are as yet available. The United States Department of Labor has, however, attempted to keep in touch with recent movements, and other organizations, such as the National

Urban League, have also tried to obtain information as to the extent and direction of present-day migrations among colored people. From the material which is available, it seems evident that there was a decrease during the industrial depression of 1920, but with the renewed activity of northern industries in 1922 there came an accompanying renewal of Negro migration. These latest movements appear to possess much the same characteristics as to direction and source that were observed from 1916 to 1920. Various estimates have been made concerning the extent of these latest migrations but they are, after all, approximations which may possibly be as inaccurate as were the numerous estimates made before the 1920 Census. One of the most detailed statements concerning this latest trend is a press release given out by the United States Department of Labor on October 24, 1923. Its accuracy is not guaranteed but on the basis of such information as was available, the situation in that year is summarized as follows:[1]

> It is announced by the Secretary of Labor, through Phil H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation, specially detailed to observe the present movement of migratory Negro labor, that 478,700 or nearly half a million Negro migrants forsook their abodes and occupations in 13 southern states during the year September 1, 1922, to August 31, 1923.
>
> An analysis of the 478,700 total reveals the fact that of Negro migrants for the year noted, Alabama yielded 90,000; Arkansas 5,000; Florida 90,000; Georgia 120,600; Kentucky 2,500; Louisiana 15,000; Mississippi 82,600; North Carolina 25,000; Oklahoma 1,000; South Carolina 25,000; Tennessee 10,000; Texas 2,000; Virginia 100,000. From the above it will be noted that Georgia yielded the highest, and Oklahoma the smallest quota of Negro migrants.

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[1] Reference 145 (f).

Surveys which have been made in northern cities in the last ten years furnish additional support to the belief that the flow of Negroes to the North has been steadily and quietly continuing since 1920.[1] In such cities as Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Detroit and Columbus, it has been found that the colored group has received a large number of migrants from the South since the last census figures were taken. We must await the 1930 census material before there is any valid ground for estimating the net gain of the North in Negro population during the last ten years. It is probable, however, that when those statistics are at hand, we shall find that the migration of Negroes has been at least over half as extensive as it was during the decade 1910-1920, which included the abnormal war period. The movement of colored people into northern cities thus continues to be an important phenomenon at the present time.

Migration of Negroes within the United States has been a continuous, not a sporadic phenomenon, for, like the white population, the colored people have constantly sought new homes. Moreover, this tendency to change of location has been steadily increasing as means of communication and travel have permeated even the most rural sections of the country and as the knowledge of other opportunities has become more widespread among the Negroes of the South.

Ever since the close of the Civil War the greater part of Negro migrations have been within the South. In spite of the fact that there has been a constant and increasing trend of Negroes to the North, the vast majority of colored people are still living within the South. There has, however, been a ceaseless shift from one southern state to another; in addition to the interdivisional and interstate migrations, there has been an ever present flux from one county to another and from rural to urban districts. Undoubtedly there have also been many movements for which no census statistics are available; for example, the 1920 records do not include the number of those who may have migrated and died within the ten-year period or who may have migrated and returned to their native homes within a census decade; or seasonal workers who may migrate constantly but retain the same legal residence. Yet when only the more obvious movements are considered, it is evident that there has been a considerable redistribution of Negro population in every division in the country. The net gain or loss of each division for the last two census periods suggests the extent of such migrations. (The figures of Table 6 are obtained by finding for each division the difference between the number of those born in the specified division but living in other divisions and the number of those living in the specified but born in other divisions.)

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[1] E. g. references 110 (a), pp. 6-7; 22 (a), sec. ii; 81 (a), pp. 33-4.

TABLE 6.—GAIN OR LOSS OF NEGRO POPULATION THROUGH INTERDIVISIONAL MIGRATION

(Source: *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. ii, p. 616; *Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915*, p. 69.)

Division	*Gain or Loss (—) through Interdivisional Migration*	
	1920	1910
New England	21,325	20,310
Middle Atlantic	296,664	186,384
East North-Central	296,111	119,649
West North-Central	68,222	40,497
South Atlantic	—455,410	—392,827
East South-Central	—405,511	—200,876
West South-Central	127,350	194,658
Mountain	20,085	13,229
Pacific	31,164	18,976

Hill has strikingly illustrated the effect of Negro migration upon southern states by comparing in a single state, Mississippi, the records of migration to and from that particular state. In 1870 the colored population of Mississippi included 124,377 Negroes who had been born in other states, principally Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. At the same time 57,433 Negroes who have been born in Mississippi were living in other states, a majority in Louisiana and Texas. Thus in 1870 the number of immigrants to Mississippi exceeded the number of emigrants by 66,944. This figure represented the net gain to the population of the state through the interstate migration of Negroes. In 1880 this gain had increased to 68,245 but from that time it fell off at every decade until in 1920, there was a deficit of 139,178 as compared with a surplus of 66,944 in 1870. This deficit means that if all the Negroes who were born in Mississippi and have gone to other states were to return and, at the same time, all Negroes who have come into Mississippi from other states were to leave, the number returning would exceed the number departing by 139,178, and the result would be an increase of 15 per cent in the total Negro population of the state, and an increase of nearly 8 per cent in the total population, white and colored.[1]

In addition to these movements within the South, there have been continual migrations from the South to the North and from the North to the South, the volume of the former having at all times been greater than that of the latter, so that the number of Negroes in the North has constantly increased through migration. As the Census Bureau carefully points out, "the increase in the number of migrants shown for each decade should not be confused with the volume of migration as between the North and West, and the South." The increase for the decade 1910-1920, for instance, of 340,260 in the number of southern-born Negroes living in the North and West is the excess of 1920 over 1910 in the number of such migrants reported. During that decade migration must also have been sufficient to cover (1) mortality during the decade among migrants living in these sections of the country in 1910 (and mortality among migrants of this particular decade), and (2) returns of migrants to the South.[1]

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[1] Reference 47 (a), pp. 476-7.

TABLE 7.—NATIVE NEGRO POPULATION BY SECTION OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE

(Source: *Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915*, p. 65; *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. ii, pp. 636 *et seq.*)

	Born in the South and Living in North and West		*Born in North and West and Living in South*		*Net Gain of North and West and Loss of the South*	
	Number	Increase	Number	Increase	Number	Increase
1920......	780,794	340,260	47,223	5,734	733,571	334,526
1910......	440,534	90,883	41,489	11,092	399,045	79,791
1900......	349,651	107,796	30,397	7,129	319,254	200,667
1890......	241,855	43,826	23,268	1,229	118,587	—57,403
1880......	198,029	48,929	22,039	6,456	175,990	42,473
1870......	149,100		15,583		133,517	

The migrations of southern-born Negroes are of particular interest because they involve by far the greatest mass of movements of colored people. Thus any consideration of the causes and results of such migrations would deal with conditions affecting the majority of colored migrants. Of especial significance are the movements from the South to the North. Whereas northern-born Negroes moving South go to regions where economic and social conditions are already adjusted to the presence of masses of colored people and where they are practically lost in the large number of their own race, the southern-born Negroes who migrate to the North enter communities where, because of fewer numbers, their influx is more conspicuous and where racial relations are more subject to change in the presence of a growing colored population. Furthermore, when southern Negroes migrate to the North, they tend to concentrate in large cities, thus necessitating frequently a double adjustment from life in the South to life in the North and from rural conditions to those prevalent in a highly organized urban center. The migration of southern Negroes to northern cities has consequently raised many serious economic and social problems.

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[1] Reference 141 **(b)**, pp. 65-6.

CHAPTER II

THE CAUSES OF MIGRATION[1]

FUNDAMENTALLY, behind Negro movements, as behind those of any people, there must be a dissatisfaction with conditions in the present location and the promise of improvement in some other region. The statement[2] that the causes of migration may be grouped under those which are " driving " and those which are " beckoning " is clarifying in that it brings out the necessity of present discontent and hope of future satisfaction. In the case of recent Negro migrations the " push " which has been of dominant influence has been the inability to make a satisfactory living in the black belt, while the principal " pull " has been the prospect of greater economic opportunities in northern industries. In spite of the general predominance of this economic motive, the influence of social conditions should not be overlooked, for the discriminations and disadvantages which have burdened the southern Negroes have resulted in a feeling of discontent and restlessness which, in turn, have tended to a ready belief in promises of better conditions. Once started, the migration has been strengthened by discussions, letters, newspaper propaganda, the desire to join relatives and friends and, at first, the suggestion resulting from a mass movement.

These factors have not only acted as a direct stimulus to further shifts but have also increased the motivating power of economic and social conditions by bringing these into greater prominence and by investing them with a stronger emotional appeal through the crystallization of public opinion. The degree in which each of these forces has operated in producing the determination to move North has undoubtedly varied with different individuals and in different years; probably in no two cases has the exact combination of motives been the same. At the present time the transfer of Negroes from South to North proceeds persistently but quietly; there are masses of Negroes now living in northern cities to absorb the newcomers and so prevent as much wild rumor and discussion as prevailed at first. This, in turn, is reflected by the lessened excitement in the South, which is further diminished as Negroes become more familiar with the phenomenon of migration. Thus the factors of hysteria and mass suggestion have become less prominent. Other causes, however, continue to operate; for example, the economic and social situation in the South and the influence of letters and increased knowledge of the thrills and pleasures of urban life. None of the factors works alone but in varied combinations with a few or with many of the others.

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[1] References supporting this discussion of the causes of migration will be found in the appendix, classified by major causes. This treatment of the subject is a synthesis of the conclusions of many students, since no writer has so far fully discussed the simultaneous action of all of these motives.

[2] See Bibliography, reference 125 (a), p. 1040.

ECONOMIC CAUSES

The chief factor in producing recent mass movements of southern Negroes to northern cities has been the general economic situation in the North, which furnished an unexpected and irrestible opportunity for colored laborers. Previous to the World War immigrant workmen from Europe had kept pace with the demand for labor in the various industries. Northern Negroes had been largely confined to the fields of domestic and personal service, only a small proportion being found in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. With the beginning of the World War there came an extraordinary expansion of industry in the United States due to European demands for war materials and supplies. The entrance of our own country into the war resulted in further increased industrial activity; new factories sprang up and old ones enlarged their facilities; labor was needed in the shipyards, in the mines, in transportation, and in all the varied industrial pursuits directly or indirectly affected by a state of war.

Along with this increased call for labor of all kinds, there came a marked decrease in the supply of available workers. One of the first effects of the war was the cutting off of immigration from Europe, as is shown by the following table:[1]

Year	*Volume of Immigration*	*Year*	*Volume of Immigration*
1913	1,197,892	1916	298,826
1914	1,218,480	1917	295,403
1915	326,700	1918	110,618

At the same time, some of the foreign laborers returned to Europe to join the armies of their native country. Upon the entrance of the United States into the war this shortage of laborers was further intensified by the withdrawal of men from industrial pursuits into military and naval service. Immediately, the workmen who remained had an opportunity to go into the higher paid and more skilled positions, thus creating a particularly urgent demand for unskilled labor. Even after the close of the war and the return of the soldiers to peaceful pursuits, the need for colored laborers continued to exist due to the passage of the 1921 immigration law and particularly to the law of 1924, which permitted an annual immigration quota of only two per cent of each national group as it existed numerically in this country in 1890.[2] By reducing the supply of immigrant labor this whole situation diminished the strength of the group which had so successfully excluded the Negro from industry and furnished him with an unprecedented opportunity in the northern labor market, an opportunity which involved an increase in the amount of employment available and in the variety of occupations open to him.

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[1] Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

[2] Exceptions were made, in that countries situated in either North or South America were not subjected to the quota principle.

Higher wages also formed part of this irresistible call to northern industry, for wages in general throughout the North were materially greater than in the South. To the poorly-paid southern farm hands the wages paid by northern industries—and paid in cold cash by the week or month instead of in store credit once a year—seemed fabulous sums promising speedy wealth and success. In the majority of cases they were too ignorant to comprehend that these unheard-of money wages might be largely offset by increased cost of living; consequently, they responded to the difference as if the northern wage scale represented an actual rather than, perhaps, a nominal increase in real wages. As it happened, they were frequently justified in this attitude, for so great was the wage increase that, in many cases, even the exceedingly higher cost of rent, food and clothing did not prevent some improvement in their general economic condition.

This unprecedented economic opportunity in the North exerted the "pull" upon southern Negroes. At the same time, the agricultural situation and prevailing low wages in the South acted as a "push" that made response to the "pull" inevitable. The share-tenancy mode of farming characteristic of the South usually involves crop liens and an unsound credit system which have often prevented the Negro tenants from making an economic profit from a year's work.

The characteristic feature of share tenancy is that the owner furnishes not only the land but also part, or all, of the necessary capital and equipment, receiving in return a portion of the crop commensurate with the amount of capital he has expended. The Negro tenant, on the other hand, provides the necessary labor and, at times, part of the equipment, obtaining his compensation in the form of a share of the product at the final crop settlement. The form of share-tenancy varies not only in the relative proportions of the crop received by the owner and tenant and the extent to which the landlord furnishes the tools, work animals, fertilizer, seed, etc., but also in the amount of supervision exerted by the owner over the tenant. This ranges from the absolute dependence of the tenant who provides only his labor and is practically a wage earner working under closest supervision and direction, to the one who furnishes most of his equipment and works largely on his own initiative. The rent form of tenancy also shows variations, having, in particular, different modes of payment; the tenant may agree to pay a cash rent or a stipulated amount of cotton per acre, or part cash and part produce.

Since Negro tenants usually have little or no capital with which to pay rent and provide the necessities of life while they wait for the maturing, harvesting and selling of their crop—which is usually the single crop, cotton—a system has developed whereby the colored farmers obtain their food, clothing and other essentials by long-time payments, either directly from the landlord, or in cases where the planter is unable or does not wish to furnish these necessities, from the local merchants, the owner securing a lien on the crop for the rent and whatever supplies he advances and the merchant securing another lien to cover his investments. One of the results of this crop-lien system has been the tendency of many planters or store keepers to charge exorbitant prices for the supplies, which the Negro tenant obtains on time instead of with cash. The creditor, whether merchant or landowner, takes considerable risk in investing large sums of capital on the security only of a cotton crop, and necessarily feels justified in protecting himself by charging more than the current cash prices. This whole system of tenancy with its concomitant evils of long-time credit and crop liens has provided splendid opportunities for unscrupulous planters and store keepers to exploit the ignorant and illiterate Negroes. In many cases the white men have taken advantage of these opportunities and have seen to it that the colored farmer has little to show for his year's work, though there are, of course, innumerable instances of white owners who have dealt honestly and kindly with their tenants and have tried to encourage them in habits of thrift and industry. However, the tenancy system has frequently resulted in much dissatisfaction with the final crop settlements, at which time the crop is shared between tenant and owner, and from the tenant's portion is deducted the payment for all advances. The Negroes complain that they are often cheated out of their share of the crop, are charged unfair prices, and are obliged to pay for articles they never bought. As Woofter points out,[1] "Some of these complaints are justified and some arise from the fact that the tenants are illiterate and keep no accurate accounts, and hence are uninformed as to their true financial status at the end of the crop year." As a further consequence of these mortgages and high prices, the Negro often finds himself in debt year after year and has little prospect of ever getting on his feet financially.

In recent decades the troubles inherent in the tenancy system have been intensified by the ravages of the boll weevil, which had appeared in the southwest corner of the southern states long before the war period, and had been persistently spreading north and east. By 1915 and 1916 the pest had reached Georgia and South Carolina, so that crop failures and agricultural depression were widespread throughout the cotton belt of the South. The economic demoralization which resulted from this spread of the boll weevil was further aggravated in 1916 by a series of heavy rainfalls and floods, which in themselves did a great deal of damage and at the same time made more difficult the fight against the boll weevil, which thrives in rainy seasons.

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[1] Reference 157 (a), p. 48.

Southern plantation owners have tended to produce only one principal crop, and in the sections where cotton is the chief interest this constant shortage or complete failure in cotton production was, and is, disastrous. Discouraged by the weevil invasion, many planters have given up the struggle and turned to other crops, such as corn, oats, sweet potatoes, peanuts and various food products, and have also frequently introduced new farm machinery to plant and cultivate them. For the most part, these new crops have required fewer laborers than did the production of cotton, and many Negro farm hands have been thrown out of work as a result of this change in agricultural products and methods of farming. Furthermore, since the farming experience of these colored workers has been practically confined to the raising of cotton, their ignorance and lack of training have handicapped the Negroes in their ability to cope with the changing agricultural situation.

Moreover, the plantation owners have often found it difficult to obtain loans from the banks during periods of agricultural depression and in many cases have been without means of making the customary advances of supplies, being obliged by their financial losses to cut down their labor force and their farming operations. This, of course, has increased both the deplorable financial condition of the Negroes and the amount of unemployment that had already been aggravated by the boll weevil and changing farming methods.

The factor of low wages has also been a serious phase of the Negro's economic situation in the South, for throughout the southern states wages for all classes have been lower than in the North. The earnings of farm laborers, particularly, have frequently not been sufficient to provide an adequate living.

At the time when southern Negroes were first widely afforded opportunity of employment in northern industries they were struggling in the South with the tenancy system, crop failures, the invasion of the boll weevil, changing methods of farming and low wages. All of these factors combined to form an economic situation from which they were glad to escape. Since those days the economic factors in both North and South have continued to operate as motives of migration but in a less striking and more stable form. There is not the acute demand for colored labor in northern industries that there was at the time of the war but Negroes continue to find positions which promise more economic success than can be attained on southern farms with their low wages and frequently unsatisfactory tenancy system. The boll weevil persists in spreading disaster and confusion in the agricultural life of the South, with the result that colored tenants move on to newer lands in the southwest and to the cities of the South and North.

SOCIAL CAUSES

While economic conditions, North and South, have been largely responsible for the mass movements of Negroes which have occurred since the beginning of the war, at the same time certain social factors in the South contributed to the restlessness and dissatisfaction of the Negroes and to their eagerness to leave when the opportunity arose. Southern colored people have constantly listed among their reasons for migrating the discrimination and injustice to which they were subjected in the South.

One of the complaints of the Negroes is that they have been denied participation in the political life of southern states and have been practically disfranchised by such state legislative action as the " Grandfather clauses," educational tests, and property or poll taxes, or by the functioning of the direct primary, from which Negroes are excluded in some states and which is usually equivalent to an election. To some Negroes the right to vote is a coveted privilege, any curtailment of which is considered an injustice, and among migrants who have flocked into the northern cities during the last fifteen years the inability to vote has frequently been given as one of the reasons for leaving the South.

Further, the Negro complains of his widespread insecurity of life and property in the South, which results in his social and economic as well as political intimidation. Although the number of lynchings of Negroes has decreased encouragingly in the last decade, yet the fact that in 1928 ten Negroes [1] were murdered by mobs shows that there is still a basis for those complaints of insecurity which are raised by the colored people. However, recent statistical analyses of the relation between lynching and migration reveal the necessity of caution in attributing too much importance to mob violence as a motivating factor in recent Negro movements. It has been shown, for instance, that: (1) The number of Negroes actually increased in some counties in which lynchings occurred; (2) counties in which Negro population decreased show a similar decrease in white population; and (3) it even happens that a county with several lynchings in its history may show an increase of Negroes but a decrease of whites.[2] In regard to both political discrimination and mob violence it is well to realize.[3]

2) [illegible]

> That lynching for the past twenty-five years has been slowly but surely decreasing and disfranchisement is no new thing but has been an accomplished fact for more than forty years, . . . (so) that whatever grievance of this

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[1] Reference 159 (a), p. 402; *cf.* 74 (a).

[2] References 57 (d), p. 403; 57 (c), pp. 272-4.

[3] Reference 125 (a), p. 1041.

> nature the Negro may have against the South, he has at least no new complaint and therefore no stronger reason for migrating on this account in 1917 than he has had for several decades.

While it is undoubtedly true that in numerous instances lynching and other forms of outrage have prompted Negroes to move, yet rationalization of motives is a peculiar tendency of human nature and such a widely discussed evil as lynching might easily be accepted and given as a primary cause in cases where other factors were more fundamental. It seems probable that, like political discrimination, mob violence has exerted an influence upon Negro migration but has acted as an occasional strengthening and accompanying cause rather than as a fundamental and generally prevalent motive.

Racial discrimination in the carrying out of civic laws is another form of injustice of which Negroes complain perhaps even more than they decry mob violence, since this phase of inequality occurs more widely and constantly. Aspects of legal discrimination which are most generally alleged to be motivating factors in the Negroes' discontent are included in such contentions as that laws are unequally enforced, that discrimination is shown by officers of the law in making arrests, and that injustice is practiced in court procedure. Colored people in the South maintain that as a result of these tendencies, they are subject to hasty arrests without sufficient evidence, they are more easily convicted and are given longer and more severe sentences, and their value as witnesses and jurymen is not considered equal to that of the white man.

Lack of adequate educational facilities in the South forms one of the most generally listed reasons for those feelings of discrimination and discontent which have led many Negroes to change their place of residence. The basis of the southern educational situation is to be found in the double school system required by state constitutions and statutes, whereby the two races are segregated in separate schools. The injustice of which the Negroes complain is not so much the fact of separation as it is the discrimination shown in the provisions made for the education of Negro children in these separate buildings. Negro schools do not receive their proportionate share of state school funds, so that the physical equipment which can be provided, such as buildings, seating arrangements, blackboards, maps, etc., is far from adequate, and the salaries are so low that only teachers with meager training and ability can be secured. Furthermore, the lack of funds frequently necessitates a school year of only three or five months instead of the customary nine. In every way Negro children in the South are handicapped by the meager educational facilities which are available for them.

Another form of social discrimination which affects Negroes of any age or walk in life is the practice, found throughout the South, of separating the two races in residential sections, public conveyances and public gatherings. The chief complaint of the Negroes in this regard is that the provisions for their accommodation under this policy of segregation are invariably inferior to those made for white people. Residential areas allotted to the colored population in towns and cities are generally in the most undesirable sections and are frequently without such necessities and civic improvements as pavements, sewers, lighting and sanitary provisions. In traveling, too, Negroes are often given poor and inadequate accommodations even though they pay the same prices as do the whites. On railroad trains they are forced to ride in coaches set apart for their use and are usually unable to obtain places in sleeping or dining cars. As a general rule, the coaches given over to Negroes are crowded and unsanitary. On street cars, in theaters, in stores and in places of public gatherings of all sorts, the separate accommodations provided for them are likely to be inferior and unpleasant. At times, too, Negroes assert that in the general contacts between the two races they are subjected to embarrassments, humiliations and insults which are degrading to their self-respect and are subversive of their rights as citizens.

Thus the colored people of the South have complained of political disfranchisement, of the constant menace of mob violence and lynching, of inadequate educational facilities for their children, of legal discriminations, of "Jim Crow" segregation in transportation and public places, and of humiliations and embarrassments suffered in their contacts with white people. The extent to which this social situation has contributed to actual removal from the South varies with different individuals but in many cases it has been an influential factor in producing a determination to migrate. However, during the migrations of the last decade and a half, social conditions have tended to act as secondary and contributing causes of the movements rather than as a primary influence. When an appraisal and examination of their economic status had once been started, so that the feeling of unrest and discontent became more conscious and verbal, social factors readily furnished additional reasons for dissatisfaction and strengthened the desire to take advantage of the economic opportunities that were opening up in northern cities.

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSES

Other factors have also played a part in producing these movements. The Negro's knowledge of the possibilities of migration and his attitude toward it are inevitably influenced by his personal relations with others and by the activities of the social group of which he is a member. Conversations with those already moving North, published discussions and appeals, and the general atmosphere of unrest which existed in many parts of the South, all exerted an effect upon the phenomenon of migration. During the first year or two of the European War the direct appeal of labor agents from the North was responsible for the migration of numbers of colored laborers, but the activities of these agents were soon limited, as many southern states attempted by legislative action to prevent them from soliciting labor for northern industries. However, this did not mean a cessation in appeals to migrate, for around 1916 to 1918 the Negro press was constantly urging colored people to leave the land of oppression and discrimination and fly to the freedom and equality which awaited them in the North. Probably the most influential of the Negro newspapers was the Chicago *Defender,* published in the North yet read widely in the South. This paper is said to have increased its circulation from 10,000 to 93,000 during the years of the war migration. By the use of glaring headlines and sensational articles it carried on a definite propaganda of migration which had an incalculable effect upon southern Negroes. It not only printed direct appeals to them to come North but gave much space to news items, anecdotes and poems which created the impression of a general mass movement and effort to escape from a life of bondage and oppression in the South. By constantly making the Negroes conscious of their " wrongs " and holding up before them the golden opportunities of the North and the example of their fellowmen, this newspaper and others like it crystallized the more underlying economic and social causes of discontent into immediate motives for migration.

After the migration had once started, one of the strongest incentives to its spread was the pressure exerted by the return of migrants for visits, by letters from migrants already established in the North, and by the general public opinion which prevailed in the South. When Negroes came back to visit their former homes, their tales of financial success and social freedom and their display of clothes and money as proof of their prosperity tended to encourage others to follow. Furthermore, as soon as a Negro had received employment in some northern city, he usually wrote to friends and relatives who remained behind, and urged them to join him. Like the Negro press and the return visits of migrants, these letters served to make southern Negroes aware of northern opportunities and conscious of their social and economic deprivations in the South, thus increasing their restlessness and discontent until the point of actual migration was reached. The extent to which such letters augmented migration cannot be estimated accurately but various investigations furnish ground for believing that this factor was highly important.

When the movement of colored people had once assumed noticeable proportions in any community, in itself it served as a cause of further migration. Throughout the South the departure of Negroes, newspaper propaganda, offers made by labor agents and letters from migrants, all started a wave of discussion. The economic and social conditions surrounding Negroes in the South and the opportunities in other regions became the absorbing topic of conversation in the churches, on the streets, in the stores and social gatherings, and wherever groups of colored people congregated. This constant discussion of migration fanned the smoldering restlessness into general awareness of the discriminations endured by southern Negroes and into acute discontent with the existing situation. Likewise, it induced a social pressure which stimulated further movements by suggestion and imitation, until in some communities the departure of colored people from the South assumed the appearance of an hysterical stampede. Credulity was rife, caution and reason were thrown to the winds, and many Negroes sold or gave away their household goods, left their work and homes and followed their friends and neighbors, sometimes not even knowing where or why they were going. The wildest sort of rumors sprang from nowhere apparently and were given full credence, causing migrants to follow the crowd on the flimsiest pretexts. A type of rumor most frequently circulated and believed was the report that on certain dates excursions would be made up to go North; and this setting of a definite date for "The Great Northern Drive" proved an irresistible attraction to many Negroes. Stimulated by discussion, by the suggestions of those around them, by the fear of being left alone and by rumors and alluring tales, many of the migrants were caught up in the wave of enthusiasm and could not resist the impulse to leave.

On the whole, however, such socio-psychological causes of migration tended to be immediate rather than underlying, fundamental motives and were more effective after the movement had begun. Some of these have died out during the last fifteen years and no longer serve as potent causal factors. After the first excitement subsided and the fact of migration became a matter of course, there was less hysteria, wild rumor, and emotional discussion of the subject. On the other hand, such factors as letters of migrants probably increased in effectiveness when the Negroes became adjusted to northern living and working conditions and had opportunity to find jobs and shelter for their friends and relatives. Since that first mass movement to the North, the emotional element has diminished, so that there has been a practical disappearance of some of the motivating forces and a quiet and less spectacular persistence of others.

MISCELLANEOUS CAUSES

In some cases, of course, Negroes have migrated merely in order to remain with members of the family who have already made the move. The influence of these family relationships is, naturally, particularly important in accounting for the migration of children and old people, yet it has also played a part in the motivation of other migrants. Similarly, colored doctors, lawyers, ministers, storekeepers and various professional and business men frequently lost most of the clientele upon which their living depended; migration for them was induced by the necessity of remaining with the group. Furthermore, many Negroes were probably influenced by modern improvements in means of communication and travel. The development of newspapers, telephone and postal service, and the automobile, good roads and improved railway service have all tended to increase mobility. They have also brought home to the colored people of the rural South a knowledge of the excitement and the pleasures of city life. The Negroes have now glimpsed what the city may give in the way of a thrill and joy in being part of the crowd and of relief from the lonely monotonous life of the farm. Who can say how great a part the "lure of Harlem" has played in the migration of southern Negroes? Modern improvements in means of communication and travel have served to bring the mass of rural Negroes in close touch with the attractions and opportunities of other places and have made migration not only a conscious possibility but an easy performance.

Consideration of the motives which have prompted movements of colored people inevitably brings the realization that these causes are by no means unique and peculiar to the migrations of Negroes. In the first place, a striking feature of the shift of colored population has been its participation in the general urban trend of past decades. The Negroes have been attracted to the cities by the same inducements as those which have drawn the white portion of the population. Like the whites, the colored people have above all responded to the demand for labor which resulted from an increasingly complex and extensive industrial organization. Like them too, the Negroes have sought in the cities better educational advantages, opportunities for a higher standard of living, for amusements and for the satisfaction of artistic, intellectual and social interests. Similarly, the movements of Negroes have been actuated by much the same reasons as those which have caused the enormous volume of foreign immigration to the United States, for both European immigrants and Negroes have been influenced by the difficulty of making a living at home and by the prospect of an improved economic status in other regions.

C. S. Johnson has made some interesting and suggestive comparisons between colored movements and the trends of European immigration.[1] Basing his comparisons on Professor Jerome's study of migration and business cycles, Johnson shows that, like immigration, Negro movements follow the fluctuations of industrial demands. Among other points he indicates that just as emigration from Europe tends to be large in depressive years and low in boom years, so the high spots of Negro movements occurred in 1878 and 1879, 1916-1918, and 1923, during which years there were floods and crop failures in the South coincident with boom periods and aggravated demands for workers in other regions. He states too, that Jerome's conclusion, that unskilled labor is marked by the greatest fluctuations, is exemplified by the Negro migrants, who are usually unskilled laborers and show the fluctuations characteristic of such workers.

Furthermore, it must not be overlooked that the fundamental causes of Negro migrations are of the same nature as those which throughout the ages have induced men to seek new homes. An increasing struggle in the effort to obtain an adequate food supply, and dissatisfaction with living conditions have at all times been underlying motives for migration. The Negro is but following the tendency of all men and moves in response to factors to which human nature itself is sensitive, and does not migrate merely as the result of some trait peculiar to his race.

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[1] Reference 57 (p), pp. 555-6; cf. 125 (a), p. 1035.

CHAPTER III

NATURE OF THE MATERIAL

IT has been seen that, due to a variety of factors, large numbers of southern Negroes have moved into northern cities during the last fifteen years. The question at once arises: What has happened in these urban centers since the composition of their population has been altered by the rapidly increasing proportion of those who belong to a distinct ethnic group? Various aspects of this query have aroused the interest of different individuals and research organizations, with the result that the last decade and a half has witnessed numerous surveys and the publication of their reports and discussions concerning the results of Negro migration to northern cities. Leading students of race problems have closely watched the movement of colored people from the South and have based their conclusions as to its effects on a wide range of experience and on numerous sources of information. In addition, many investigations have been made of special phases of the economic and social conditions existing among particular groups of colored people in the North.

For the background and extent of the movements and for the discussions of occupational and demographic effects of the migration, governmental sources, primarily the publications of the Census Bureau, have been drawn upon. They constitute the major sources of reliable material for the country as a whole and its main subdivisions. The opinions expressed by the large number of authors cited in the bibliography have been synthesized, and generalizations from them scrutinized, in the light of the specific and detailed surveys.

Table 8 summarizes the nature of numerous reports which have been published as a result of isolated surveys made since 1917 in single localities.[1] They contain information concerning social and economic situations which have arisen in particular places since the influx of southern Negroes. Table 9 presents the nature of investigations which have been carried on by the same person or committee in several cities and sections of the North. The topics covered by these surveys are not uniform; some of the investigations have been concerned with the nature of the occupations into which Negroes have gone, others have been interested only in crime or housing or recreation, while a few have attempted to cover the chief phases of both economic and social conditions. The surveys which are here grouped together also vary in date of investigation and agency by which conducted. A few of the reports, such as those of George Haynes in Detroit and Abraham Epstein in Pittsburgh, were carried on immediately after the first noticeable inrush of southern Negroes. Caution is necessary, therefore, in combining conclusions from such investigations with those derived from studies conducted as late as 1928. It has been felt, however, that there was great value in basing this study on surveys for different years in order to derive a continuous picture of what has happened since Negroes first began to come North in considerable numbers, and in order to determine whether conditions have remained similar throughout the years since the first studies were made. In regard to the auspices under which the investigations were conducted it should be noted that some of them have been carried on by independent individuals, and others by social agencies or by officially appointed commissions.

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[1] Those interested in a single city must, in addition to consulting Table 8, refer to descriptive material supplementary to Table 9.

TABLE 8.—NATURE OF PUBLISHED REPORTS OF SURVEYS MADE IN SPECIFIC LOCALITIES IN THE NORTH SHOWING EFFECTS OF RECENT NEGRO MIGRATIONS

(x indicates subjects covered)

Period Covered	1928 Albany, N. Y. (1)	1923 Baltimore, Md. (2)	1928 Boston, Mass. (3)	1925–26 Buffalo, N. Y. (4)	1919–20 (a) Chicago, Ill. (5)	*1919–20 (b)	1917 Cincinnati, O. (6)	*1924 (a) Cleveland, O. (7)	*1926 (b)	1924–25 Columbus, O. (8)	*1917–18 (a) Detroit, Mich. (9)	1926 (b)	1928 Grand Rapids, Mich. (10)	1926 Los Angeles, Cal. (11)	*1927 Michigan (12)	1925–26 (a) Minneapolis, Minn. (13)	1923–25 (b)	1925–26 New York City (14)	1924–26 Pennsylvania (15)	1919 (a) Philadelphia, Pa. (16)	1924 (b)	1917 (a) Pittsburgh, Pa. (17)	*1917 (b)	1925–27 (a) Washington, D. C. (18)	1926–28 (b)	1923 Waterbury, Conn. (19)
Topics Considered in Report:																										
1. Increase of Negroes by Migration	x	x		x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		x	x			x
2. Industrial Conditions.																										
(1) Nature of Occupations	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		x	x			x
(2) Business and Professions	x			x	x		x					x	x			x			x							
(3) Wages	x			x	x						x	x	x	x		x			x	x		x				x
(4) Unions		x		x	x									x		x			x			x				x
(5) Relation with White Workers					x	x						x	x	x		x			x				x			
(6) Success					x	x	x	x			x	x		x		x										x
(7) Negro Women Workers			x		x						x	x														x
3. Composition of Negro Population					x		x			x		x	x			x						x				x
4. Housing.																										
(1) Segregation					x					x	x	x								x					x	
(2) Congestion					x					x	x	x								x		x	x		x	
(3) Conditions	x			x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x			x			x	x		x	x		x	x
(4) Rents				x	x					x	x	x							x	x		x	x		x	x
(5) Lodgers				x	x						x	x							x	x		x	x		x	
(6) Deterioration of Property					x	x				x		x													x	
(7) Ownership	x				x					x		x				x			x						x	x
5. Health	x								x			x				x			x			x				x
6. Social Maladjustment.																										
(1) Crime	x				x		x					x	x		x		x				x	x	x			x
(2) Juvenile Delinquency	x				x							x	x					x				x				

TABLE 8—*Continued*

Period Covered	1928 Albany, N. Y. (1)	1923 Baltimore, Md. (2)	1928 Boston, Mass. (3)	1925–26 Buffalo, N. Y. (4)	1919–20 (a) Chicago, Ill. (5)	*1919–20 (b)	1917 Cincinnati, O. (6)	*1924 (a) Cleveland, O. (7)	*1926 (b)	1924–25 Columbus, O. (8)	*1917–18 (a) Detroit, Mich. (9)	1926 (b)	1928 Grand Rapids, Mich. (10)	1926 Los Angeles, Cal. (11)	*1927 Michigan (12)	1925–26 (a) Minneapolis, Minn. (13)	1923–25 (b)	1925–26 New York City (14)	1924–26 Pennsylvania (15)	1919 (a) Philadelphia, Pa. (16)	1924 (b)	1917 (a) Pittsburgh, Pa. (17)	*1917 (b)	1925–27 (a) Washington, D. C. (18)	1926–28 (b)	1923 Waterbury, Conn. (19)
7. Education	x				x					x		x	x			x			x							x
8. Political Situation					x																		x			
9. Church					x					x	x	x	x													
10. Recreation	x				x						x	x	x											x		x
11. Race Relations.																										
(1) Contacts	x				x								x			x			x	x						
(2) Discrimination					x		x						x							x						
(3) Friction					x																					
12. Attitude of Northern Negroes											x	x							x	x						
13. Work of Organizations					x								x						x	x						

3. Composition—includes age, sex and marital condition of Negro population.
5. Health—includes vital statistics and causes of illness.
6. Crime—includes number of arrests and nature of offenses.
7. Education—includes number of Negro children and retardation.
9. Church—includes number of churches and work among Negroes.
10. Recreation—includes provisions for and discrimination in.

(For supplementary material concerning a specific city see explanation accompanying Table 9.)

* Dates marked with asterisk are approximate.

DESCRIPTION OF SURVEYS TO ACCOMPANY TABLE 8

1. Albany City Club: *Survey of Albany's Negro Population,* Albany City Club Bulletin 9, No. 5, March 1929. 15 pp.

   Conducted under direction of National Urban League.

2. Charles S. Johnson: "Negroes at Work in Baltimore," *Opportunity* 1, pp. 12-9, June 1923.

   Conducted under auspices of National Urban League. Limited to economic phases.

3. Eolyn C. Klugh: "Colored Girls at Work in Boston," *Opportunity* I, pp. 295-9, October 1928.

   (Master's essay at Simmons College.) Brief study of occupations of Negro girls in Boston.

4. Niles Carpenter: *Nationality, Color and Economic Opportunity in Buffalo*, New York, The Inquiry. 100 pp.

   (Assisted by graduate students in sociology in the University of Buffalo. Chapter on "Study of Negro Worker" was Carpenter's Master's essay.) Emphasis is on economic status of Negro. Only brief mention of other topics.

5. (a) Chicago Race Commission: *Negro in Chicago*, University of Chicago Press, 1922. 672 pp.

   Report of a survey made by Commission appointed by Governor Lowden to investigate conditions after Chicago Riot of 1919. Includes report of the riot, causes of migration and extent of migration to Chicago, extensive material on formation of public opinion and race relations. One of the most valuable surveys.

   (b) H. R. Gold and B. K. Armstrong: *Preliminary Study of Inter-racial Conditions in Chicago*, New York, Home Missions Council, 1920.

   Made under direction of Survey Division, Industrial Relations Department, Interchurch World Movement. Of little value except for comparative purposes. Is brief and explicitly only a preliminary study.

6. James H. Robinson. "Cincinnati Negro Survey," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work 1919*, pp. 524-7.

   Report of survey undertaken by Council of Social Agencies. Robinson was Secretary of Negro Civic Welfare Committee of this Council.

7. (a) John B. Abell: "Southern Negro in Northern Industry," *Economic World* 27, pp. 620-2, May 3, 1924.

   Survey conducted among 75 of the largest industries in Cleveland. First published in *Trade Winds*, journal of Union Trust Company.

   (b) H. L. Rockwood (M.D.): "Effect of Negro Migration on Community Health in Cleveland," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work 1926*, pp. 238-44.

   Based largely on city's health statistics.

8. Mary Louise Mark: *Negroes in Columbus*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1928. 63 pp.

   A suggestive but not exhaustive study of Negroes in Columbus.

Survey by graduate students in Sociology at Ohio State University. One of the few studies to distinguish between migrant and Northern Negroes in age and occupation.

9. (a) George E. Haynes: *Negro Newcomers in Detroit*, New York, Home Missions Council, 1918. 42 pp.

   Survey made by Home Missions Council to formulate program for churches' activity. Was conducted during early years of migration so must be used with caution in comparison with later surveys.

9. (b) Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research: *Negro in Detroit.* Prepared for the Mayor's Interracial Committee by a special survey staff under supervision of Forrester B. Washington. 12 sections mimeographed, 1926.

   Includes discussion of causes of migration. One of the most comprehensive and valuable studies.

10. R. Maurice Moss: "American Cities — Grand Rapids, Michigan," *Opportunity* 7, pp. 12-15, January 1929.

    Survey made by the National Urban League in 1928.

11. Charles S. Johnson: "Negro Workers in Los Angeles Industries," *Opportunity* 6, pp. 234-40, August 1928.

    Survey made by National Urban League. Emphasizes industrial status of the Negro. Report based on 104 of the most important establishments included in a study of 456 industrial plants.

12. Harold A. Lett: "Migration Difficulties in Michigan," *Southern Workman* 56, pp. 231-6, 1927.

    Results of a study of migrants by the Division of Negro Welfare and Statistics. Sketchy but suggestive report of situation observed by the Division of Negro Welfare.

13. (a) Abram Harris: *Negro Population in Minneapolis*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Urban League, 1926. 77 pp.

    Sponsored by National Urban League.

    (b) Maurine Boie: "Analysis of Negro Crime Statistics for Minneapolis," *Opportunity* 6, pp. 171-3, 1928.

    Used records of the Municipal Court in order to check figures of official publications for years 1923-1925.

14. Joint Committee on Negro Child Study in New York: *Study of Delinquent and Neglected Negro Children before the New York City Children's Court*, published by The Committee, 1927. 48 pp.

    Studies the proportion of Negro children brought before the court in 1925, and nature of offenses.

15. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: *Negro Survey*, 1927. Survey undertaken by State Department of Welfare, directed by Forrester B. Washington, with two paid field workers and many volunteer assistants.

    One of the more comprehensive surveys covering both economic and social situations.

16. (a) Sadie T. Mossell: "Standard of Living Among 100 Migrant Families in Philadelphia," *Annals* 98, November 1921.

    Primarily concerned with problem of standard of living as shown by analysis of family budgets. Includes study of causes and extent of migration. One of the early surveys.

    (b) Anna J. Thompson: "Survey of Crime Among Negroes in Philadelphia," *Opportunity* 4, pp. 217-9, 251-4, 285-6, 1926.

    Used records of Detective Bureau and Police Courts. Intensive study of nature of offenses and criminal statistics among Negroes.

17. (a) A. Epstein: *Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1918. 74 pp.

    A study in social economy published under the supervision of the School of Economics, University of Pittsburgh. Conducted when migrants first came and pictures extreme conditions of that time.

    (b) Pittsburgh Council of Churches: *New Negro Population*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, February 1918. (Pamphlet.)

    Useful for comparison with other surveys.

18. (a) William Henry Jones: *Housing of Negroes in Washington, D. C.*, Washington, D. C., Howard University Press, 1929. 191 pp.

    Sponsored by the Washington Interracial Committee. Conducted by Professor Jones of Howard University with help of students of the University. An exhaustive study of housing situation in Washington.

    (b) William Henry Jones: *Recreation and Amusement Among Negroes in Washington, D. C.*, Washington, D. C., Howard University Press, 1927. 216 pp.

19. Charles S. Johnson. "Negro Population of Waterbury, Connecticut," *Opportunity* 1, pp. 298-302, 338-42, October and November, 1923.

    Survey by National Urban League. Particularly interesting for its picture of what is going on among smaller Negro groups in the North.

TABLE 9.—NATURE OF PUBLISHED REPORTS OF SURVEYS MADE THROUGHOUT THE NORTH SHOWING EFFECTS OF RECENT NEGRO MIGRATIONS

(x indicates subjects covered)

	(1)	(2)			(3)	(4)	
Investigator	E. J. Scott	U. S. Dept. of Labor			F. B. Washington	T. J. Woofter	
		(a)	(b)	(c)		(a)	(b)
Period Covered	*1917–1919	1916–17	*1920	1920	*1928	1917–20	1925–26
Topics Considered in Report:							
1. Increase of Negroes by Migration	x	x				x	x
2. Industrial Conditions.							
(1) Nature of Occupations	x	x	x			x	
(2) Business and Professions.							
(3) Wages	x		x				
(4) Unions	x	x	x			x	
(5) Relation with White Workers.	x	x	x			x	
(6) Success	x		x			x	
(7) Negro Women Workers			x	x			
3. Composition of Negro Population						x	
4. Housing.							
(1) Segregation	x						x
(2) Congestion							x
(3) Conditions		x					x
(4) Rents	x						x
(5) Lodgers	x						x
(6) Deterioration of Property							x
(7) Ownership							x
5. Health		x				x	
6. Social Maladjustment.							
(1) Crime		x				x	
(2) Juvenile Delinquency							x
7. Education							x
8. Political Situation							
9. Church							
10. Recreation					x		x
11. Race Relations.							
(1) Contacts.							
(2) Discrimination							x
(3) Friction							
12. Attitude of Northern Negroes	x						
13. Work of Organizations	x						

* Dates marked with asterisk are approximate.

DESCRIPTION OF SURVEYS TO ACCOMPANY TABLE 9

1. E. J. Scott: *Negro Migration*, Oxford University Press, 1920. 189 pp.

   Deals with conditions in St. Louis, Chicago and its environs, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus and several smaller Ohio cities, Detroit, Philadelphia, Newark and Hartford. Based on reports of three investigators, M. N. Work, C. S. Johnson and T. T. Fortune. Deals with causes of migration, stimulation and spread of movement, effects in the South, and public opinion concerning migration. Conducted during war period and valuable for picture of early days of the war migration.

2. (a) United States Department of Labor: *Negro Migration in 1916-1917*, Government Printing Office, 1919. 158 pp.

   Northern cities specifically included are: Philadelphia and environs, New York City, Newark, Jersey City, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Chicago. Report of four investigators (three white, one Negro). Includes discussion of causes of migration and results in South and North. Only brief discussion of effects in North.

   (b) *Negro at Work During the World War and Reconstruction*, Government Printing Office, 1921. 144 pp.

   Covers principal cities in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan. Report of the work done by the Division of Negro Economics. Emphasis is on economic status of Negro during war period.

   (c) United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau: *Bulletin No. 20, 1922*. Government Printing Office. 65 pp.

   Included cities in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and Indiana. Investigation made by Emma L. Shields in conjunction with Division of Negro Economics. Study of Negro women in 150 selected plants in 17 localities in 9 states (North and South). Studies nature of occupations, wages and hours, success and contact with white workers. Only general conclusions can be derived from this, since it does not deal specifically with Negro women in northern industries and makes no distinction between migrants and non-migrants.

3. Forrester B. Washington. "Recreational Facilities for the Negro," *Annals* 140, pp. 272-82, November 1928.

   The principal northern cities included by Washington and in surveys listed in Tables 8 and 9 are: Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Toledo. Based on his work with the Detroit Urban League and on questionnaires sent to fifty-seven cities. Includes conditions in the South.

4. (a) T. J. Woofter, Jr.: *Negro Migration, Changes in Rural Organization and Population of the Cotton Belt*, New York, W. D. Gray, 1920. 195 pp.

    Deals with North in general, not with specific cities. Based on census material and trip South in 1917, North in 1920. Deals primarily with conditions in the South, only briefly with North.

   (b) *Negro Problems in Cities*, New York, Doubleday Doran and Company, 1928. 284 pp.

    Northern cities included are: Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Indianapolis, Chicago, Gary, Dayton. Study by a staff of four people; also includes some southern cities. Limited to subjects of neighborhoods, housing, education and recreation. Needs to be supplemented by more intensive surveys.

In view of these variations no attempt is made to rank the studies in order of importance or reliability but from an examination of Table 8 and the more detailed description immediately following it, a few conclusions are obvious. The surveys carried on by the Chicago Race Commission, the Detroit Bureau and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are the most comprehensive and among the most useful. Each of these was conducted by several individuals and enlisted the cooperation of both white and colored people. The investigations sponsored by the National Urban League are more uniform in method and scope than are the other studies, and are especially valuable for their material on the economic aspects of the Negro's presence in northern cities; these surveys have tended to emphasize this phase of the Negro's problems but some of them have also included suggestive studies of social conditions.

It is true that these surveys have not been carried on by uniform methods and under similar circumstances and, in consequence, show marked variation. However, by comparing and checking them with each other it is possible to derive general conclusions as to what has been occurring in the North as a whole during these last fifteen years. Such generalizations are strengthened by checking with the opinions of leading students who have carefully followed the characteristics and effects of the northern urbanization of Negroes, and who have based their views on an extensive knowledge of race problems. When the conclusions of such leaders are combined with the findings of specific investigations it is evident that certain general trends have appeared in the economic and social life of northern cities since the intensification of Negro migration to the North. Utilizing this comparative method, the following chapters examine the more apparent and important trends.

SECTION II

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATIONS, WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR

As has been pointed out in earlier chapters, the spectacular movement of southern Negroes to northern cities was fundamentally a response to the demand for labor which arose from the lessened immigration of European workmen and a concomitant increase in industrial activity occasioned by the manufacture of war products. The situation provided an unexpected economic opportunity for the only laborers available—the Negro workmen, who before this period had been given practically no chance to enter the northern industrial field. Under such circumstances the economic effects of the migration were conspicuous and important.

LABORERS AND THEIR JOBS

The movement of colored laborers from the rural districts of the South to the industrial centers of the North not only fulfilled the demand for labor and increased the number of Negro wage earners in northern cities but at the same time altered the distribution of Negroes in the various general classes of occupations. Previous to the war period the largest numbers of southern colored workers were found in agriculture, and of northern, in domestic and personal service; in fact, in 1910 over three-fourths of all Negroes gainfully employed were classified in these two occupations. The migration of farm laborers to northern cities resulted in a disturbance of these proportions, for the 1920 figures revealed a marked decrease in the proportion of Negroes employed in agricultural lines and an increase in the percentage found in other types of work, particularly in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Although 58 per cent of the Negro males were engaged in agriculture in 1910, by 1920 only 48 per cent were so employed, whereas the proportion of those in manufacturing and mechanical industries had risen from less than one-fifth to almost a fourth. The decade 1910-1920 witnessed an increase in the proportion of male Negroes in every class of occupation except those of agriculture and domestic and personal service.[1]

TABLE 10.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATION OF NEGRO GAINFUL WORKERS TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1920 AND 1910

(Source: *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. iv, p. 340.)

Occupation	*Per cent Negro Gainful Workers Ten Years and Over*					
	All Negro		Males		Females	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
All Occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry	45.2	55.7	48.2	58.0	39.0	52.2
Extraction of Minerals	1.5	1.2	2.2	1.9	*	*
Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits	18.4	12.2	24.0	17.7	6.7	3.4
Transportation	6.5	4.9	9.5	8.0	0.2	0.1
Trade	2.9	2.3	4.0	3.5	0.7	0.3
Public Service	1.0	0.4	1.5	0.7	0.1	*
Professional Service	1.7	1.3	1.3	1.2	2.5	1.5
Domestic and Personal Service	22.1	21.6	8.4	8.5	50.3	42.4
Clerical	0.8	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.2

* Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

A study of the occupational distribution of all colored workers in the United States reveals the shift from agriculture to other classes of labor, but the exact nature of the occupations into which Negroes were flocking in the North is more clearly indicated by an examination of the distribution of Negro male workers in several leading cities of the North. Table 11 indicates the numerical increase of colored males in northern centers and the noticeable trend toward the occupations of manufacturing and mechanical industries. Previous to this period Negro males in the North tended to show a decided concentration in the field of domestic and personal service. That this decade witnessed a shift from this type of labor in the North just as it saw a transfer from agriculture in the South, is evident from a study of the proportions in the chief occupations. (See Table 12.) There was a decrease in the per cent of male workers in domestic and personal service and a concomitant increase of those in manufacturing and mechanical industries. This was true even in New York City, which has no such specialized industry as has Pittsburgh, Detroit or Chicago. Whereas nearly half of the workers in New York were in domestic and personal service in 1910, the proportion found in this field in 1920 was nearer one-third. The middle western cities revealed a decided increase in manufacturing and mechanical industries; in Detroit, for example, the percentage of males in this field rose from 17.0 in 1910 to 70.1 in 1920. Whether Negroes have continued this advance into industry since 1920 or have even retained the positions they secured during the War, remains to be seen after the 1930 census figures are available. Surveys which have been made in the last ten years indicate that colored workers are still far more numerous in northern industries than they were in 1910 but that they have lost a little of the ground they held in 1920.[1]

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[1] For an exhaustive treatment of occupational distribution, see the companion volume by O. D. Dutcher, *The Negro in Modern Industrial Society*, soon to be printed.

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[1] See Bibliography, reference 110 (a), ch. 3.

TABLE 11.—NUMBER OF MALE NEGRO WORKERS TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATION FOR CERTAIN NORTHERN CITIES, 1920 AND 1910

(Compiled from *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. iv, pp. 1049 *et seq.*; *Thirteenth Census*, 1910, vol. iii, table viii.)

	Number of Male Workers in					
	New York City		*Philadelphia*		*Chicago*	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
Total Male Workers	56,516	33,110	50,809	29,561	45,123	18,437
Agriculture	158	249	310	259	41	22
Extraction of Minerals	14	....	27	80	31	48
Manufacturing and Mechanical..	12,067	4,504	22,702	7,407	16,307	3,073
Transportation	12,235	5,197	10,103	5,676	3,441	1,849
Trade	3,919	3,072	4,342	3,393	8,461	1,505
Public Service	1,749	486	1,686	674	959	224
Professional	1,571	1,040	870	538	1,191	640
Domestic and Personal	21,144	16,224	9,378	8,509	12,666	9,426
Clerical	3,659	1,528	1,391	929	2,026	771

	Detroit		*Pittsburgh*		*Cleveland*		*Cincinnati*	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
Total Male Workers	19,808	2,350	15,071	9,940	15,010	3,495	11,605	7,755
Agriculture	25	....	31	....	39	....	64	21
Extraction of Minerals ...	13	....	79	....	19	....	26	....
Manufacturing and Mechanical	13,892	409	7,971	2,859	9,493	755	5,849	1,913
Transportation	1,426	182	1,862	1,232	1,561	414	2,068	1,609
Trade	841	108	873	814	883	290	765	547
Public Service	166	29	286	193	235	57	150	146
Professional	337	75	227	134	212	50	240	116
Domestic and Personal ...	2,791	785	3,343	3,023	2,261	1,150	2,238	1,830
Clerical	317	64	399	224	307	106	205	121

Such a comparison of the proportion of Negro males in the two occupational divisions of domestic and personal service, and manufacturing and mechanical industries for the periods 1910 and 1920 apparently justifies the conclusion that colored laborers who have come to northern cities in recent years have found unprecedented economic opportunities and

TABLE 12.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY CHIEF OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO MALE WORKERS IN CERTAIN NORTHERN CITIES, 1920 AND 1910

(Sources: Same as Table 11, from which this was computed.)

Per cent of Negro Male Workers in

City	*Manufacturing and Mechanical*		*Transportation*		*Trade*		*Domestic and Personal*	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
New York City	21.4	13.6	21.6	15.7	6.9	9.3	37.4	49.0
Philadelphia	44.7	25.1	19.9	19.2	8.5	11.5	18.5	28.8
Chicago	36.1	16.7	7.6	10.0	18.8	8.2	28.1	51.1
Detroit	70.1	17.4	7.2	7.7	4.2	4.6	14.1	33.4
Pittsburgh	52.9	28.8	12.4	12.4	5.8	8.2	22.2	30.4
Cleveland	63.2	21.6	10.4	11.8	5.9	8.3	15.1	32.9
Cincinnati	50.4	24.7	17.8	20.7	6.6	7.1	19.3	23.6

for the first time have had a chance to break away from the limited fields of agriculture and of domestic and personal service. Unfortunately, however, this entrance of Negroes into industry is not so complete and encouraging as these general figures indicate. When attention is directed to the particular type of work in which Negroes are chiefly engaged within the general fields of trade, transportation and manufacturing, it is seen that although colored workers have gained a foothold in northern industry yet they are still largely confined to unskilled labor and positions which are closely allied to domestic and personal service. In practically every northern city Negroes who are listed as being employed in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits are found in largest numbers in the various "laborers" categories. In the division, transportation, the largest single groups of Negroes are chauffeurs, and draymen or teamsters. In some cities, such as New York, the number of longshoremen is also large. Of Negroes listed as engaged in trade, the majority are "laborers, porters and helpers in stores," while in the division, public service, the greatest number are classified as laborers. There is, therefore, among Negroes a decided predominance of the manual and service type of occupation even in the industrial field.

The limitation of Negroes to processes calling for unskilled manual labor is strikingly apparent in such industries as iron and steel mills, slaughter houses and stockyards, automobile, chemical and textile factories. In these establishments and others like them the majority of Negro employees are unskilled laborers and seldom advance beyond this status. Yet it must not be overlooked that the presence of Negroes in even these unskilled positions marks a real improvement in their economic standing—for until the war period they were practically negligible in such occupations—and constitutes a necessary initial step toward further possible industrial progress. In Detroit, for example, the number of Negroes employed as laborers in the automobile factories was only 17 in 1910 but had jumped to 3,870 in 1920. The blast furnaces and rolling mills of Pittsburgh reported only 507 Negroes in 1910, but a decade later the number had risen to 4,350. Similar increases occurred in the number of colored men employed in the stockyards and slaughter houses of Chicago, and various other industrial occupations in northern cities have received an unprecedented number of colored workers.

The surveys substantiate the situation disclosed by the 1920 Census and indicate a continuation of the trend.

> In New York City the majority of Negroes are engaged as personal and domestic servants, elevator operators, porters and laundry workers. Although the number of colored males in domestic and personal service is still large, the concentration in that field is being broken and many men have entered the industries of the city. They are, however, largely confined to the unskilled occupations in

such industries as have opened up to them.[1] Surveys of economic conditions in Buffalo (about 1925) have shown that the vast majority of Negroes in that city are employed as unskilled laborers or in domestic and personal service. Although the latter field still claimed the largest number of Negroes, most of whom were newcomers, yet colored laborers were entering industrial pursuits, particularly the blast furnaces and rolling mills.[2] Epstein's study of the migrants in Pittsburgh during 1917 showed that, on the whole, Negroes were still limited to domestic service and common labor, 95 per cent of them being employed in unskilled labor "in the steel mills, the building trades, on the railroads or acting as servants, porters, janitors, cooks and cleaners." While there had been a decided increase in the number of colored industrial employees, they were held in the lowest stages of the work, particularly in the larger plants, where almost 100 per cent of the Negroes were doing unskilled work. It should be pointed out that many of the Negroes were in the steel mills, which by their very nature necessitated a large force of unskilled labor.[3]

According to the report of the survey sponsored by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1925) the industrial opportunities open to Negroes are much more numerous in the western than in the eastern part of the state. However, in Pennsylvania as a whole, the number of colored workers has shown a marked increase since 1910 and an interesting redistribution of Negroes in the general classes of occupations. "Ten years ago the Negro was almost an unknown factor in productive industry in (Pennsylvania) . . . Throughout the Commonwealth previous to 1915 the Negro was engaged as a mass in domestic and personal service occupations." In 1920 there was a decrease of 23.3 per cent in the number of Negroes employed in domestic and personal service, whereas there was an increase of 151.1 per cent in the number employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. " It was the first time that the number of Negroes engaged in domestic and personal service had decreased between two census years. . . and for the first time in the 300 odd years that Negroes had lived in Pennsylvania there were more Negroes in the manufacturing and mechanical industries than there were in domestic and personal service. . . . During the five years between 1915 and 1920 almost a miracle took place in the industrial status of the Pennsylvania Negro. From a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, from an unimportant menial employee . . . he suddenly became an industrial producing unit." During the next five-year period, 1920 to 1925, the number of Negroes decreased in all classes of occupations except domestic and personal service, and agriculture; there was a shrinkage of 10 per cent in the number employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. However, in spite of this setback, colored laborers in 1925 showed a great advance over their pre-war situation. And "in some sections of the Commonwealth the number of Negroes working in certain industries is even higher than it was during the peak of the War period." [1]

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[1] References 57 (a), pp. 641-3; 96 (a), p. 69.

[2] References 16 (a), p. 162; 57 (n), pp. 323-4.

[3] References 32 (a), pp. 22, 30-3; 151 (a), p. 295; 124 (a), p. 122; 145 (d), pp. 125-6.

Of all the investigations of the Negro's place in the industrial life of northern cities, that made by the Chicago Race Commission in 1920 is one of the most extensive. Between 1910 and 1920 Chicago's colored population increased over 148 per cent, and there was an accompanying addition to the number of colored workers in some of Chicago's occupations. This gain was apparently greater in the manufacturing field than in that of domestic and personal service, for the proportion of Negroes employed in the latter class decidedly decreased while the proportion in the former class of occupation showed an increase. The

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[1] Reference 110 (a), pp. 14-8.

Chicago Commission concluded that there had been "a remarkable increase since 1915 in the number of Negro workers employed in manufacturing, in clerical occupations, and in laundries. As was to be expected, the number of Negroes in personal service (hotels, dining cars and parlor cars) also increased, but the increase was negligible in comparison with the gain in the other fields mentioned." Particularly significant advances were reported for such manufacturing establishments as box making, clothing, food products, iron and steel, and tanneries. Furthermore, this report of the Race Commission reveals the tendency of Chicago's colored workers to follow the Negro's usual concentration in the ranks of unskilled labor, since most of the Negro workers were reported as being in this class.[1]

Very similar situations are disclosed in surveys which have been made in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, and other industrial centers.[2] In all of these places, there has been since 1915 a noticeable increase in the number of colored industrial laborers, but the vast majority of them are employed in the lowest classes of unskilled work. On the basis of the surveys of the Negro in Detroit made by Haynes (1918) and the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research (1926), it is evident that here, too, colored workers have found an unprecedented industrial opportunity but are still largely confined to common, unskilled labor. Both the Bureau of Research and Haynes point out the enormous increase that has taken place in the number of Negroes living and working in Detroit and report that the majority of Negroes are doing unskilled work. The few colored wage earners in Detroit in 1910 were almost entirely limited to domestic and personal service but in 1926 the Detroit Bureau of Research estimated that between

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[1] Reference 17 (a), pp. 362, 166, 358-72, 382, 391-3, 623-6.

[2] References 120 (a), pp. 524-5; 1 (a), pp. 620-2; 81 (a), p. 41; 44 (b), p. 25; 124 (a), pp. 112-4; 57 (g), pp. 301-2.

> 25,000 and 30,000 Negroes were employed in Detroit's industrial establishments, most of them in the field of unskilled labor.[1]

Comparing these reports of numerous specific investigations with the census material and with the opinions of leading students of the Negro's economic status, it is evident that throughout the North there has been a tremendous increase in the number of colored wage earners employed in various industries. It is known that many of the new industrial positions have been filled by migrants from the South. More investigation is needed to determine whether those who still remain in the field of domestic and personal service are northern Negroes who already held the positions or are newcomers taking the places left vacant by northern colored men when they entered the industrial realm. Negroes are still largely limited to the lowest types of work but they have found a wider range of occupations open to them and they have been able to gain at least a footing in the complicated industrial life of northern cities.

THE TREND TO SKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED POSITIONS

The Negro has attained the lowest rung of the industrial ladder, and has also succeeded in taking a few tentative steps toward the better-paid skilled positions. During the last fifteen years in most northern cities there has been an increase in the number of Negroes employed in semi-skilled and skilled occupations, although the industrial centers show variation in the extent to which such positions have been opened to colored workmen. In the cities of the Middle West, such as Chicago and Detroit, there is apparently a stronger trend toward the inclusion of Negroes in skilled work than exists in many eastern cities like New York and Philadelphia. The number of skilled Negroes is affected by the nature of the industry and the extent of its organization by labor unions; the automobile factories of Detroit need a larger proportion of skilled workers than do the steel mills of Pittsburgh and hence offer more opportunity for Negroes to work up to positions requiring skill and training. Moreover, in contrast to the relatively highly specialized industries of a place like Detroit, the predominance of trade over industry in New York City offers proportionately fewer opportunities for skilled work. The attitude of the labor unions is another exceedingly important factor in determining the extent to which colored skilled workers are successful in finding positions. Many of the unions do not encourage the inclusion of Negroes and where an industry is highly organized in locals possessing this attitude, the Negroes have little chance of entering. Unfortunately for the colored man, most of the industries which need a noticeable proportion of trained workers are organized. Where there are numerous skilled positions, the unions bar the way to the Negro; where industries are likely to be open-shop, the majority of positions are in unskilled work. In spite of these handicaps Negroes have made steady progress in the number of their race employed in such occupations in northern cities.

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[1] References 46 (f), pp. 15-6, 19; 22 (a), sec. iii. *Cf.* references 145 (c), p. 89; 93 (a), pp. 175, 181, 185; 145 (d), p. 128; 2 (a), p. 11; 57 (i), pp. 14-6; 140 (a), p. 28; 57 (j), pp. 235-7; 46 (j), pp. 30-1; 57 (a), pp. 642-3; 57 (n), pp. 322-4.

> Semi-skilled and skilled positions and trades in New York City include a much larger number of Negro employees than they did in 1910 but in view of the tremendous influx of colored people into this center during the last decade and a half, there is reason for believing that this type of economic opportunity has not opened up for the Negro in New York to the extent that it has in some other northern cities. Students of this phase of the Negro's economic status in New York tend to agree that the colored

worker is still prevented from freely entering highly skilled trades, such as those of brick masons, painters, plasterers and plumbers.[1] Negroes in Buffalo have advanced a little, since in 1920 the proportion of colored laborers in several semi-skilled and skilled positions exceeded the proportion of Negroes in the total population; this was particularly true in semi-skilled tasks in rolling mills and in the skilled work of cranemen and derrick men. However, the vast majority of Negroes in Buffalo were limited to unskilled and domestic labor and Carpenter concluded from his survey (1926) that colored wage earners could only rarely find an opening in skilled occupations and could never expect to be "rated as a high skilled worker, foreman, or office worker."[2] The Pennsylvania Survey Committee felt that Negroes in the western part of the state had greater opportunities for advancement into skilled trades than they did in and around Philadelphia. But the number of skilled workers among the colored people is not large in any section of Pennsylvania.[3]

In the industrial centers of the Middle West the colored wage earners were apparently a little more successful in entering semi-skilled and skilled occupations, for the surveys of conditions in Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee and Detroit all speak more optimistically of the advance made by Negroes in these lines.[4] According to the Chicago Race Commission, migrants who had been skilled workers in the South had difficulty in securing similar positions when they first came to Chicago but on the whole, the proportion of skilled workers among Negro laborers was increasing in that city.[5] In comparing the various reports of the status of colored skilled laborers, it seems evident that Detroit is conspicuous for its opportunities in this line, as the automobile establishments are employing Negroes in semi-skilled and skilled positions as well as in the field of common labor. While only eight Negroes were listed as semi-skilled laborers in the automobile factories at the time of the 1910 census, 809 colored workers were so classified in 1920. The Detroit Bureau of Research concluded that almost a third of the Negroes employed in the firms covered by their survey could be classed as semi-skilled or skilled, about half of these being in the automobile factories.[1]

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[1] References 145 (c), p. 95; 57 (a), p. 518.

[2] References 16 (a), p. 139; *cf.* 57 (b), p. 132.

[3] References 110 (a), ch. 3; 145 (d), pp. 125-8; 32 (a), pp. 20-1; 124 (a), p. 122.

[4] References 124 (a), p. 113; 151 (a), p. 298.

[5] References 17 (a), pp. 166, 364; *cf.* 57 (a), p. 718; 145 (d), p. 128.

After an extensive analysis of labor conditions, Wesley maintains that throughout the North the Negro has made a real advance in skilled occupations, and as an illustration of this progress he quotes a press release of the United States Department of Labor showing the increase of skilled and unskilled workers for the year 1922-1923. The following extracts from that table indicate the trend of Negro labor.[2]

INCREASE OF SKILLED AND UNSKILLED NEGRO WORKERS
APRIL 1922 – APRIL 1923

	Per cent Increase	
State	*Skilled*	*Unskilled*
Michigan	70.7	62.5
Ohio	68.0	71.2
Pennsylvania	43.7	77.5
Illinois	39.9	46.7
New York	30.0	39.8

On the other hand, in spite of this advance in the number of colored skilled workers in the North, the proportion of Negroes employed in semi-skilled and skilled positions is still extremely small compared to the proportion of colored people in unskilled labor and in domestic and personal service, or compared to the percentage of white wage earners engaged in skilled occupations. There are, of course, a variety of factors back of this situation. The policy of the unions has already been mentioned. Students of the subject contend that the attitude of organized labor is one of the most persistent and effective checks to the Negro's advancement in skilled work. When trades and occupations are almost completely controlled by unions the Negroes are usually prevented from even gaining an entrance, even though they may have practiced these trades in the South. Moreover, employers often refuse to advance Negroes to positions which would place them on an equal plane with white skilled workers or in authority over white unskilled employees. Then, too, the majority of Negroes have previously had no experience save in the field of agriculture and are totally untrained and unfitted to fill the skilled positions which might be available in northern industries. This handicap is frequently intensified by the inability of Negroes to secure from employers and unions a chance to acquire this necessary training.[1]

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[1] References 22 (a), sec. iii; *cf.* 46 (f), p. 19; 124 (a), p. 129.

[2] References 151 (a), p. 300; *cf.* 57 (g), p. 302; 57 (i), p. 14; 57 (n), p. 323.

The surveys indicate that the years since the beginning of the World War have witnessed an increase in the number of Negro workmen employed in the semi-skilled and skilled occupations in northern industries. Final confirmation of the post-war trend must wait upon publication of the results of the 1930 Census, some years hence.

NEGROES IN BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONS

There is little reliable information concerning the effect of migration upon the status of the Negro in the business and professional life of northern cities. However, there are indications of increased activity along both lines, for the crowding of migrants into the "Negro areas" of the principal urban centers naturally increased the need for stores, restaurants, amusement places, and similar establishments, and for such professional men as doctors, dentists and clergymen. Judging from the brief surveys which have been made of the Negro's business activities, it seems evident that colored men have at least begun to take advantage of these increasing opportunities and to open up business establishments of their own. So far reports indicate that the majority of these Negro proprietors and owners are migrants from the South, as northern Negroes have shown less initiative in this direction. Most of the Negro business establishments are barber shops, hair-dressing parlors, tailor shops, restaurants, cabarets, dance halls, pool rooms and similar concerns. This predominance of the "decorative," refreshment and amusement types of projects is accounted for to a large extent by the fact that these are the lines in which colored people meet most forcefully and conspicuously the race prejudice of their white neighbors. With the rising tide of discrimination and segregation which has appeared in many northern cities since the noticeable increase in colored populations, there has been a greater demand among Negroes for amusement and refreshment places of their own. Furthermore, business establishments of these types tend to require less capital and training at the start than do many other projects, and Negroes, as a rule, have little of either.

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[1] References 57 (n), p. 326; 57 (a), p. 643; 16 (a), pp. 116, 139.

Both the Negro business concerns and professional men tend to serve a clientele almost entirely confined to the colored population. Previous to the migrations of the last decade and a half most of the colored professional men who desired to work up a large practice were obliged to go South, but the rapid growth of the northern Negro population has apparently increased their opportunities. The increase in the number of colored clergymen has been particularly evident, although other professions have been augmented, too. The 1920 census figures for a few of the more important centers indicate the possible widening of professional fields for Negroes in the North. Probably the forthcoming census figures will show more decided increases, for it is natural to suppose that the growth in the number of professional men would begin only after the opportunity was clearly established and thus would lag behind the increase in colored population. The Negro interested in starting a professional career is confronted with the serious problems of competition from white men, difficulty in obtaining the necessary training, and the time required for such training. There is also an unfortunate tendency among Negroes to prefer white doctors or lawyers, or the stores owned by white proprietors to those of their own race. Consequently colored men frequently find it

TABLE 13.—NUMBER OF NEGRO MALES IN CERTAIN PROFESSIONS IN DESIGNATED CITIES, 1910 AND 1920

(Sources: Same as Table 11.)

	Number of Negro Males in					
	New York		*Philadelphia*		*Chicago*	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
Clergymen	176	120	278	169	215	76
Dentists	96	42	47	16	68	14
Lawyers	50	50	13	13	95	44
Musicians	554	318	178	143	254	216
Physicians	94	57	90	78	195	109

	Number of Negro Males in							
	Detroit		*Pittsburgh*		*Cleveland*		*Cincinnati*	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
Clergymen	82	—	96	63	73	—	91	50
Dentists	24	—	15	—	13	—	10	—
Lawyers	32	11	8	5	10	11	8	4
Musicians	106	58	22	37	28	30	47	43
Physicians	28	6	27	27	27	8	16	14

up-hill work to start a business or professional practice among their people. Many Negroes, lacking capital to finance their own businesses, are found as managers or superior employees of concerns owned by whites and serving a colored clientele. In spite of these handicaps the number of Negro business establishments and of Negro professional men in the North has shown a tendency to increase in recent years.[1]

> Although up-to-date comparable figures showing the growth of Negro business and professions in northern centers will not be available until the 1930 census material is at hand, in the meantime, reports of various surveys indicate the trend of this phase of the Negro's economic activities in specific cities. In Minneapolis (1926) the survey of the Negro group disclosed several thriving business enterprises, chiefly restaurants, that were trying to meet the needs of the growing colored population.[2] The Chicago Race Commission mentions the increase in Negro business concerns that had occurred in the two years preceding the survey and estimated that the number of commercial and industrial establishments conducted in Chicago by Negroes had increased nearly 25 per cent in the one year 1919 to 1920. A large proportion of such establishments were barber shops, grocery stores, hair dressing parlors and restaurants.[3] The Detroit survey (1926) also found that Negro business establishments had increased and that most of them might be classified as decorative concerns, including under this title barber shops, beauty parlors and tailor shops; or amusement places, such as dance halls, pool rooms and cabarets.[4] The Pennsylvania Commission (1925) reported that nearly two-thirds of the

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[1] In the past few weeks (February, 1930) Harlem Hospital, New York City, has been put on a half-white, half-Negro basis as regards its entire staff.

[2] References 44 (b), p. 18; *cf.* 16 (a), p. 168.

[3] Reference 17 (a), pp. 140-1.

[4] Reference 22 (a), sec. iv.

Negro business enterprises in Pennsylvania were conducted by men who had come from the South and that the majority of these concerns were "beauty culturists, barber shops, restaurants and undertakers." The report concludes that "while the number of businesses conducted by Negroes is still comparatively small, the advance that has been made in recent years in numbers and variety is much more rapid than formerly was the case. . . . Much of the Negro's progress in business has been due to the migrant, who, coming from the South where he had been discriminated against by white merchants, learned to patronize those of his own race. . . . The migrant . . . had a much greater inclination to patronize Negro business than the Pennsylvania-born Negro, and he was more apt to go into business for himself. . . . Negro professional men are increasing in numbers and becoming more prosperous for the same reason that Negro business has prospered."[1] Such well known leaders of the race as George E. Haynes and Ernest K. Jones, who have kept in close touch with Negro problems throughout the North, also believe that recent years have seen a real improvement in the Negro's status in business and professions.[2]

OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO WOMEN

The vast majority of colored women gainfully employed in northern cities are still in the field of domestic and personal service just as they have been in previous decades. However, the acute labor shortage of the war period created some openings elsewhere. Before 1915 the number of colored women employed in northern industries was so small as to be practically negligible; almost four-fifths of the Negro women workers in the North were limited to the one field of domestic and personal service. Since that date they have appeared more frequently in such positions as the unskilled processes

[1] Reference 110 (a), pp. 27-9, 90.

[2] References 46 (d), p. 72; 62 (b), pp. 971-2.

connected with garment trades, paper box factories and meat packing houses, and to some extent in clerical occupations connected with mail-order houses.

> An investigation in New York City found that colored women were being employed in larger numbers than ever before in a variety of establishments, principally in the garment trades, but also to some extent in paper box factories, leather products and similar work.[1] In Philadelphia industrial openings had increased for these wage earners in garment trades, munition factories, textile, paper, tobacco and other establishments.[2] The report of the Chicago Race Commission shows an increase in the employment of Negro women in such work as sewing machine operators, slaughtering and packing house workers, box making, tannery processes and clerical occupations. It has been pointed out, however, that colored women have made little progress in entering skilled work in Chicago, most of them being kept in those phases of industry which are more closely allied to domestic service.[3] In Detroit this group has apparently had a slightly greater chance to enter the better paid, skilled or semi-skilled occupations, for Negro women are found in these positions in the automobile plants. They are also at work in the garment and meat packing establishments, but the number so employed is not so great as in such non-industrial enterprises as laundries, hotels and restaurants.[4] In other cities, for example Buffalo, Waterbury, Albany and Columbus, investigators of this subject have concluded that Negro women have practically failed to enter industry and are still almost entirely employed as servants or in allied occupations.[5]

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[1] References 19 (a); 145 (g), p. 7; 46 (a), p. 307.

[2] Reference 145 (g), p. 7.

[3] References 17 (a), pp. 367, 378-85, 402, 625; 145 (g), p. 7.

[4] References 22 (a), sec. iii; 145 (g), pp. 7-8.

[5] References 16 (a), pp. 139, 166-7; 57 (g), pp. 301, 338; 2 (a), p. 11; 81 (a), p. 41; *cf.* 67 (a), pp. 295-9.

Even in the largest centers such as New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, where Negro women have gained at least an entrance into industry, the majority of colored females gainfully employed still remain in the ranks of domestic and personal service. In fact, the proportion so occupied constitutes in practically all northern cities, about three-fourths of the group of those gainfully employed.

TABLE 14.—PERCENTAGE OF COLORED FEMALES GAINFULLY EMPLOYED BY TWO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES FOR CERTAIN CITIES, 1920 AND 1910

(Computed from sources used in Table 11.)

	Percentage of Colored Females Gainfully Employed in			
	Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries		*Domestic and Personal Service*	
City	1920	1910	1920	1910
New York	22.6	9.2	71.5	86.0
Philadelphia	11.5	5.7	84.0	89.9
Chicago	21.5	11.2	63.8	78.4
Detroit	12.3	7.7	79.1	78.0
Pittsburgh	6.7	6.0	87.3	88.3
Cleveland	14.1	10.0	77.8	81.1
Cincinnati	12.0	7.3	83.2	86.6

Like Negro men, they are, as a class, in the most poorly paid and the least desirable kinds of work. Even those who have secured a high school or business training find it difficult to obtain work other than that of servants, waitresses or elevator tenders.[1] Confronted by low wages, little chance for advancement or improvement and poor working conditions, it is no wonder that Negro women often feel that their chances for economic success or even a living wage are hopeless, and fill the ranks of prostitutes or floating domestics. Moreover, most of the northern employers who have been interviewed have stated frankly that they hired Negro women only because of the acute labor shortage at the time of the war, and many concerns are still reluctant to engage them if other workers are available. It would seem, therefore, that industrial openings for women are not yet firmly established. Further studies are needed before we can know whether Negro women are being retained in or further drawn into northern industries during periods of retrenchment when workers other than Negro women are at hand.

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[1] Reference 67 (a).

> In his recent volume on the occupations of women, J. A. Hill has shown that the number of Negro women employed as laborers and as semi-skilled operatives in factories increased between 1910 and 1920, but adds—" We shall need the statistics of at least one more census to determine whether the large increase from 1910 to 1920 marks the beginning of a more general employment of Negro women in factories, or whether, being an increase due to the great temporary demand for factory workers which came with the World War, it will not outlast the exceptional conditions which caused it. Much depends, perhaps, upon whether—with continued restricted immigration—there will be a sufficient supply of white workers."[1]

The various investigations which have been made of the employment of Negro women in northern cities are not sufficiently comprehensive and comparable to justify more than a tentative conclusion as to their present status in industry. Yet these surveys indicate that there has been a real increase during recent years in the industrial openings for Negro women, since they have become a more important factor in meat packing, in the tobacco industry, in power laundries, in textile and garment factories, in munition plants and in clerical positions. In various cities there has been a tendency for the proportion of colored females in domestic service to diminish while there was an increase in the proportion listed under manufacturing and mechanical industries. It should not be forgotten, however, that in cases where they have won a place in industry, Negro women have usually been kept in the least desirable phases of the work and have lacked even the meager economic opportunities that were opening up for Negro men. They " were the marginal workers and had to fill the gap, either in domestic or industrial openings, wherever they were needed," for on the whole " industry was not ready to receive the large numbers of Negro women who moved North and West." [1]

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[1] Reference 47 (b), p. 117.

A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

To some extent at least, Negroes have succeeded in breaking away from agriculture and domestic and personal service, and have gained an entry into the industrial life of the North. For the most part, these colored workers have entered the unskilled occupations of " seven basic industries: iron and steel mills; automobile manufactures; chemical and allied factories; foundries and hardware factories; slaughtering and meat packing; the stone, tile and glass industry; and the clothing trades." [2] So far only a small percentage has entered the semi-skilled and skilled occupations; the great mass of colored workers who have found a place in northern industry are confined to its unskilled processes either on account of their lack of training and ability, or because of the prejudice of their white associates and the opposition of organized labor. On every side the colored worker is confronted by barriers which handicap his economic advancement, barriers which are comprised of his own lack of industrial experience, his inability to receive training in many trades by the refusal of organized groups to admit him as an apprentice, his inability to secure admission to many local unions so that he has an equal chance at unionized jobs, and the prejudice of white employers and a white public which assumes that a Negro is fit only for menial labor and so completely shuts him out from many positions.

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[1] Reference 145 (g), pp. 10, 8.

[2] Reference 46 (d), p. 69.

> The nature of the occupations still practically closed to him is indicated by the following summary: "Where the manufacturing processes demand highly skilled work Negroes are not employed. Where the positions entail authority over white workers they are not employed. Where the work entails association on an equal footing in operations requiring semi-skill and skill they are rarely employed. Where the nature of the work requires that they meet customers in the capacity of agents or representatives they are not employed. Where the work assumes the mastery of a trade, such as brick laying, carpentry, painting, they are rarely and irregularly employed, and wherever employed they are subject to the opposition of labor organizations."[1]
>
> The opinions voiced by Carpenter after his study of the situation in Buffalo serve as an adequate summary of the views of many other investigators and students of the Negro's economic opportunities in northern cities. "There can be no avoiding the conclusion that . . . the Negro suffers from a severe restriction of his economic opportunities; the men being held chiefly within the confines of the unskilled and general labor groups, and having virtually no chance of going beyond skilled labor, whereas the women are unable even to gain a foothold in the humblest occupations in the community's industrial and mercantile establishments, but are forced to limit themselves almost entirely to domestic and personal service, and to hotel and restaurant work. . . . In general, the net impression left by this group of interviews (with Negroes) is not a

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[1] References 57 (r), p. 140; *cf.* 119 (a), pp. 240-2.

> happy one. There is more of downright discrimination and denial of opportunity, more of bafflement, more of defeat, more of bitterness, less of success in breaking out of the coil of struggling penury in these records than of those for any other ethnic group included in . . . the study. Some progress is indicated, but it appears to be infinitely hard-won."[1]

Negro wage earners have indeed gained a footing in the industrial life of today but they have little more than this footing. Though the number and variety of their occupations have increased, colored laborers are still limited in their economic opportunities and lack the white man's freedom to enter any trade and to be advanced according to worth and ability. Government statistics show, however, that the total number of Negroes employed in domestic and personal service decreased from 1910 to 1920. At the same time, the number in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, trade and transportation favors the conclusion that opportunities for Negroes have increased even though they are still far from equal to the economic chances of the white man.

The 1930 census figures on occupations are eagerly awaited by students of the Negro's economic status in the North. The last census was taken at a time of prosperity and marked business activity;[2] since then there have been periods of depression in which white men have been looking for work and in which employers have tried to reduce the cost of production at every turn. Are the Negroes losing the opportunities which were opened up to them during the war and are they being displaced by other nationality groups? Since they are so concentrated in the field of unskilled labor, are they in danger of replacement by machine processes which might be substituted for common labor during those periods when employers try to find the cheapest mode of production? These are only a few of the questions which have so far received little intensive study and which will be clarified by the coming census. Not until further studies are made along these lines will we have some of the fundamental facts which are necessary for the formation of conclusions as to the present trend of economic opportunities for Negroes in northern cities.

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[1] References 16 (a), pp. 140, 118; *cf.* 110 (a), p. 20; 46 (d), p. 69; 57 (a), p. 643; 70 (a), p. 235.

[2] It is highly probable that the figures for the 1930 Census, taken at a different time of year than the 1920 Census (April 1, 1930, contrasted with January 1, 1920) and at a time when unemployment is more extensive than for many years past, may again make difficult, comparisons of the actual situations.

WAGES AND HOURS OF NEGRO WORKERS

Material which is available concerning wages and hours of Negro workers in northern cities is not sufficiently adequate and uniform to justify any detailed comparison of the situation as it exists in the chief urban centers. Some of the reports base their information on wages per hour, some use the daily wage, while others use the weekly or monthly pay check, or piece-rate earnings. Differences in the wage scale of various cities, in the tendency toward periods of unemployment or time off or, on the other hand, toward extra-time, and differences in the cost of living, further increase the difficulty of drawing definite conclusions concerning the wages and hours of Negro laborers throughout the North. Practically all of the reports and discussions, however, indicate a few common tendencies which suggest the general trend.

There is little doubt that wages of colored laborers in the North are higher than in the South. In surveys which included comparisons of wages received by the migrants before and after they moved North it was found that they had materially increased their average income. The actual per cent increase in the amount of money received is, however, no adequate measure of the real financial improvement, since the higher cost of rent, food and clothing diminishes the actual surplus. But in spite of this increased cost of living most of the migrants report themselves as being better off financially than they had been in the South.

> The survey made under the auspices of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1925) illustrates the effect migration has had upon the wages of Negro laborers. "The average wage of the Negro in Pennsylvania is 91 per cent higher than it was in those positions of the South from which a typical group of Pennsylvania migrants came. While these figures show a marked increase in money wages, they do not show that there has been a similar increase in real wages. A budget study of the cost of living of some 500 Negro families was made and from the data obtained it is possible to state that the cost of living for these families was about 23 per cent more than in the South. It is evident from this adjustment that the increase in real wages is about 70 per cent." While these exact figures would not hold true for all northern communities, yet they typify the general trend toward an increased real as well as higher nominal income among Negroes who have moved North.[1]

When the attempt is made to compare wages of white and of colored laborers in northern industry, conflicting evidence at once appears. It is frequently assumed that Negroes are discriminated against in the matter of wages, and many of those interested in this phase of the Negro's economic situation would agree with Scott Nearing that "Among white men . . . equal pay for equal work is accepted as an axiom. This is not so where Negroes and whites work together; on the contrary, there is persistent wage discrimination." [2]

[1] References 110 (a), p. 21; *cf.* 145 (d), pp. 22-3; 17 (a), p. 168.

[2] Reference 97 (a), p. 101.

However, the situation throughout the North cannot be so simply described, for the existence and extent of such wage differentiations are not uniform in northern cities.

> As an illustration of one situation the report of the New York Urban League may be noted, for this organization concluded that "colored workers receive lower wages than white workers in similar occupations, except when both are members of trade unions."[1] On the other hand, the Detroit Bureau of Research and the Chicago Race Commission both found "practically no complaints of discrimination in wages on the same tasks."[2]

Further investigations are needed before definite conclusions can be drawn but on the basis of the material at hand the general situation in the North in regard to wage discrimination seems to be as follows: In nearly all of the cities there is apparently no open or general policy of differentiation, for Negroes tend to receive the same pay as white laborers when they are working together on the same jobs. This is particularly true of larger establishments; inequalities in wages for similar positions is more noticeable among small concerns. On the other hand, there are evidences in every city of more subtle forms of discrimination which result in a lower average wage for the Negro population. In many cases the opposition of the labor unions prevents the Negro from entering the highly skilled trades and positions which pay more desirable wages. If he can gain admittance to these trades and especially if he can join a local union, he generally receives the same level of wage as is given the white man. The difficulty lies in his inability to secure such positions. Furthermore, many employers refuse to advance deserving colored workers to higher, better paid jobs, especially if these entail authority over white employees. Similarly, in piece-work occupations the tendency of foremen to keep Negro common laborers upon the processes which yield lower returns than those given to white co-workers assists in producing a lower average wage among colored people. Consequently, it is difficult to compare wages of white and colored laborers because, considering each as a group, they are not always working on the same jobs and do not possess the same opportunities for advancement into the better paid positions.

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[1] Reference 96 (a), p. 69.

[2] References 22 (a), sec. iii, pp. 14-5; 17 (a), p. 365.

> The general situation as it has been found in northern cities when specific investigations of Negro wages have been made finds typical expression in such reports as that of the Detroit Bureau of Research (1926). " Many employers stated accurate comparisons were difficult because Negroes and whites were not working on the same jobs. None of the Negro workers who were interviewed knew of discrimination in pay on the same job. . . . (Yet) the Negro group as a whole is working on the more inferior jobs and therefore earning less proportionately as a group."[1] Similarly, the Chicago Race Commission concluded that " Wages of Negroes in the branches of employment where they were permitted to work were generally the same as for white workers. There were instances, however, of discrimination in placing or keeping Negroes at work on processes in which they could not earn so much as in processes on which white men were engaged. Also there were instances of discrimination in piece-work, the foremen invariably giving Negroes only the job yielding a low rate."[2] The Urban League's survey of the Negroes in Baltimore (1923) reported the same situation: " No important instances of discriminatory rates for whites and Negroes working on the same jobs and performing the same

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[1] Reference 22 (a), sec. iii, pp. 14-5.

[2] Reference 17 (a), p. 624.

> processes (were observed. But) over 75 per cent of all the Negroes working were confined to the branches of work yielding the lowest pay."[1]

Thus, as a rule, Negroes are limited to the poorly paid positions or to the seasonal or irregular, and hence less desirable, jobs, so that they earn less in dollars and cents than a group of white workers of the same occupational level. In addition they tend to earn less in real wages, since they usually pay higher prices for necessities, particularly for rent. Practically all of the investigations found that far too large a proportion of the Negroes gainfully employed were earning an income below that necessary for the maintenance of health and decent standards of living. In many cases the low wage of the men has made it necessary for the women to seek employment outside of the home in order to supplement the family income. The result of this is seen in the abnormally high proportion of Negro women who are working. Their wages tend to be even lower than those of Negro males and, as a consequence, the combined earnings of the husband and wife are all too frequently insufficient for the proper support of the family.

> In his report of the situation in Minneapolis, Abram Harris points out the fact that in 1919 the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics considered a weekly wage of $43.51 essential to maintain an acceptable standard of living for a family of five. In contrast to this, Harris found (1926) that of the 222 married Negro men with families whom he interviewed in Minneapolis, only 12 were receiving more than $40.00 a week, 200 were earning between $15.00 and $30.00 a week, and the median weekly wage of the 222 men was $22.55.[2] In Philadelphia (1919) over

[1] Reference 57 (i), p. 19.

[2] Reference 44 (b), pp. 28-30.

> half of the families investigated by Mossell were receiving incomes from all sources sufficient to maintain a fair standard of living as described in the study, but, on the other hand, in only 41 per cent of the families was the income of the father alone sufficient to maintain this standard.[1]

There is even less material in regard to the number of hours which Negroes work per day or week, but that which is available leads to the tentative conclusion that the migrant common laborer works on the average about the same number of hours as he did in the South, with a tendency toward a lower average length of day in the North. However, exact comparisons are impossible on the basis of present information. In northern cities there seems to be no widespread discrimination between white and colored laborers working together on the same jobs. Nevertheless the occupations with longer and less desirable hours are usually filled by Negroes, so that, as a group, colored workmen tend to have longer hours of labor than do white wage earners. As the Detroit Bureau of Research remarks: "Many of his jobs are tedious, long-hour, poor-hour jobs, but the Negro has to take them because he can get nothing better."[2]

When a comparison is made of occupations, wages and hours of the mass of colored wage earners in a northern city and a corresponding group of white workers, it is evident that the status of the Negroes is lower and more undesirable. There are numerous evidences that many Negroes are not earning an income sufficient to maintain an adequate standard of living, in spite of the fact that their wages are, on the whole, higher than those which could be obtained in the South.

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[1] Reference 93 (a), p. 214.

[2] Reference 22 (a), sec. iii, p. 15.

CHAPTER V

Race Contacts Involved in the Industrialization of the Negro

THE NEGRO AND THE WHITE WORKER

The influx of large numbers of colored migrants from the South naturally resulted in more frequent and more intimate contacts between black and white workers. Among many employers and others who were interested in the economic situation it was fearfully expected that the mingling of the races in industrial establishments would lead to much friction and open violence. Contrary to this general assumption, surveys of race contacts in specific northern industries have found that, considering the masses of common laborers of both races competing for industrial openings, there have been surprisingly few serious clashes or race disturbances in establishments which employed both white and Negro labor. It is true that in nearly every city there have been instances in which the introduction of Negro labor has been followed by the demand of white employees for segregation and separate working accommodations and by an antagonistic attitude. Generally, however, the actual daily contacts of Negroes and whites in most establishments have been peaceful and have gradually been accepted as a matter of course. There are indications that when northern employers use colored workmen they tend to mass them in certain occupations or in certain plants, and so there may be less actual mingling of the races in industry than might be assumed simply from a consideration of the large increase in the number of Negro industrial workers. More information is needed before conclusions can be drawn as to this tendency to separate the two by kind of occupation, but if this does exist to any great extent, the practice would inevitably lessen the possibility of friction. At the same time, it would also tend to limit the industrial opportunities of the Negroes and to diminish the chances for racial adjustment through intimate daily contacts and the development of understanding and friendship on the basis of shared work-interests. Added investigation along this line would be very valuable.

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Furthermore, the development of a hostile or friendly relationship between the workers in an establishment apparently depends to a great extent upon the circumstances under which the Negroes are introduced. When open conflicts have occurred between white employees and the newcomers, the hostility has usually been generated by the introduction of Negroes as strike breakers or by their substitution for white laborers in a certain industrial process at a lower wage in order to reduce labor costs. Under such circumstances the economic fears and struggles of white wage earners tend to be linked with the objective fact of racial difference and hence to intensify race prejudice and hostility. In cases where colored men have been brought in during a labor shortage and have been given equal wages, there has generally been little opposition on the part of the white workers.

The reaction of the whites has also been influenced by the manner in which the employer has brought in the Negroes and by the attitude of the management and of the foremen at the time of the Negroes' first appearance. When employers have made no point of emphasizing race differences but have assumed or openly stated that the colored man would be placed on an equal plane with white workers, the latter are likely to accept the situation with little feeling or comment. On the other hand, when employers and foremen conspicuously indicate their feeling that the Negro is inferior and begin a strict policy of segregation in all phases of working conditions, such as workrooms, washrooms and eating places, the white employees inevitably reflect this policy of race discrimination.

Moreover, the attitudes and characteristics of the newcomers have influenced the nature of the resulting race contacts; Negroes who have reacted to the new environment of greater economic and social freedom by braggadocio and a tendency to ostentatious "showing off" have naturally aroused more race feeling than those who quietly accepted their industrial chances and sought to prove their worth and to earn the respect of their co-workers.

Then, too, the previous experiences of the white employees with Negro labor have tended to affect their reactions during and since the war; where white workers have known the colored man only as a "scab" and hated competitor, they are likely to resent his appearance even in times of labor shortage. It is evident that the nature of racial contacts in northern industry have been influenced by a multiplicity of factors, which have often been unrealized or ignored by employers, industrial managers and white and black workers.

> Two of the most intensive surveys of the racial contacts in industry which resulted from the migration and entrance of Negroes into the industrial field were those carried on by the Detroit Bureau of Research and by the Chicago Race Commission. As a result of their studies, both of these committees reported that industrial contacts as a rule were peaceful. The Detroit Bureau maintained that "Employers were unanimous in stating that they had no more clashes in their plants between Negroes and whites than between groups of white workers of other national groups" although the races were not segregated.[1] The

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[1] See Bibliography, reference 22 (a), sec. iii, p. 29.

Chicago Commission also reported that practically none of the Negro laborers who were interviewed (nearly a thousand in number) complained of disagreeable relations with their white co-workers, and among the replies from employers in nearly one hundred and fifty establishments employing over twenty-two thousand Negroes, there were only two reports of disturbing race friction. One of these was due to the prejudice which had been aroused among the white workers by previous employment of Negroes in the plant during a strike and the other was caused chiefly by fear that Negro girls were going to supplant the white workers.[1] Epstein's study of the situation in Pittsburgh indicates a less satisfactory adjustment between the newcomers and the white employees, but the investigator evidently felt that the antagonism was not an inevitable accompaniment of race contacts in industry, for he concluded that although there was "an undesirable hostility to Negroes on the part of a few white workers, the objection (to them was) frequently exaggerated by prejudiced gang bosses."[2] An illustration of serious friction arising from the presence of Negroes is found in the incident of the East St. Louis riot, which expressed an open and violent hostility to the Negro newcomers in that city. By some, this riot was attributed to the activities of the labor unions; by others, to the fierce economic struggle of unorganized white and black labor. The actual causes of the riot were complex and involved many social as well as economic factors, but undoubtedly the new contacts between Negroes and white workers in East St. Louis were provocative of intense racial feeling and antipathy.[3]

The influx of migrants into northern cities and the entry of Negroes into the industrial field have resulted in more frequent contacts between white and colored workers, though exactly to what extent such relations have been increased still remains uncertain. The nature of these contacts has varied from establishment to establishment and from city to city. On the whole, however, although there have been cases of open hostility shown by white laborers, the majority of concerns employing both races have not been seriously disturbed by race conflicts, particularly after the first pronounced appearance of Negroes in northern industries.

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[1] Reference 17 (a), pp. 394-5, 626.

[2] Reference 32 (a), p. 32.

[3] References 57 (a), pp. 718-9; 145 (d), pp. 134-5; 129 (a), p. 339; 103 (a), p. 627; 142 (a).

RELATION TO ORGANIZED LABOR [1]

Before 1915 the vast majority of Negroes in the North were engaged in work of the personal service type, and so few were employed in skilled or organized occupations that Negro laborers were practically ignored by the unions. [A new situation was created, however, when thousands of colored workmen moved up from the South and when Negroes began to enter industrial positions which they had previously not occupied at all or only in small numbers.] Recent migrations have made the unions more aware of the necessity of recognizing the existence of the Negro, because it soon became evident that this steadily increasing supply of unorganized colored workers could easily furnish a substitute for white laborers during a strike or when employers desired to reduce the cost of labor. It is not surprising, therefore, that during the last fifteen years expressions of interest in Negro workers have occurred much more frequently than ever before in the official records of labor organizations and in published articles and public speeches of union representatives.

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[1] For exhaustive treatments of this subject see the forthcoming volume by Sterling Spero and Abram Harris, and also *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions*, now in press, by the Department of Research of the National Urban League, Ira de A. Reid, Director.

This theoretical acceptance of the Negro is, however, far in advance of the actual practice of local unions. In its official utterances the American Federation of Labor has long stood for a policy of no racial discrimination and in the last decade has emphasized the necessity of organizing Negroes, even passing resolutions to organize them under charters from the Federation in cases where internationals persisted in barring them from membership. In reality these activities of the central organization are less important than they seem, for the Federation is unable to compel affiliated internationals and locals to admit colored workers when they do not desire to do so. Among the nationals and internationals few of those affiliated with the American Federation now officially deny membership to Negroes but the four railroad brotherhoods not connected with the Federation still exclude the colored worker by constitutional provision.

Local organizations exhibit widely diverse policies in regard to colored members; some of them frankly refuse to admit Negroes; others practice virtual exclusion through raising the membership fee for colored applicants to an exorbitant price, or by technical rules of admission which Negroes are not allowed to fulfill. Many locals which do include colored workers limit them to membership in segregated organizations, either as subordinate groups completely controlled by the white members or as coordinate organizations. Then there are locals which admit Negroes to full and equal membership; but survey of the situation in the North leads one to the conclusion that unions of this last type tend to be the exception rather than the rule. In spite of the friendly utterances and resolutions of the central organizations, most of the local unions in northern cities are still far from enthusiastically encouraging Negro membership. As Woofter remarks: " Removing this proscription in charters against Negro members and overcoming the prejudice of the membership to such an extent that colored men are actually admitted to the locals are, however, two entirely different matters." [1]

The most noticeable increase of Negro members has been in organizations of less skilled labor, such as among the longshoremen or hod-carriers, in which occupations so many Negroes are now employed that the unions must include them or lose control of the trade. On the other hand, unions of more skilled and more desirable occupations are reluctant to admit the Negro laborer and in many cases manage to exclude him.[2]

> Details of the situation vary, of course, from city to city, but the general trend in the organization of colored labor is much the same in all of the large northern cities. In Buffalo, for example, Carpenter found (1926) that there were very few colored members of local unions. When they were admitted, however, they were members of the white organizations, as there were not a sufficient number to warrant the establishment of separate Negro locals. This investigator concluded that "the recent arrival of the Negro workman in the North in increasing numbers has meant the formulation of union policy in local organizations that have never been confronted with the problem before. . . . Informal exclusion is probably practised in more than nine unions. Some are quite frank in admitting that they can easily find some excuse to prevent the admission of Negro workmen. Others have no hard and fast rule, but are generally content to follow a national or traditional policy of practical exclusion." [3] Epstein's study (1917) of the labor status of the Negro in Pitts-

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[1] Reference 157 (c), p. 161.

[2] References 151 (a), pp. 266-74; 157 (c), pp. 158-62; 17 (a), pp. 405 *et seq.*; 110 (a), p. 22; 48 (e), p. 323; 57 (b), p. 135; 57 (i), p. 19; 57 (j), p. 239; 119 (a), pp. 243-4.

[3] Reference 16 (a), p. 113.

burgh reveals a general attitude of hostility on the part of the local organizations. Epstein asserts that the unions did not attempt to organize the Negroes and many of them excluded colored applicants in one way or another. Although two trade organizations did admit Negroes—a local of the Hod Carriers Union and one of the Hoisting Engineers—the other locals investigated apparently discouraged Negro membership.[1] Harris, in his survey (1926) of the situation in Minneapolis, concluded that the American labor movement was not free from race distinctions and race prejudice. Although some of the locals in Minneapolis were branches of internationals which prohibit the admission of Negroes, yet the majority of the locals were not required by their constitution to discriminate on the basis of race. In spite of this freedom to include the colored workers, very few of the locals had any Negro members.[2] The Chicago Race Commission reported on the basis of its investigation (1920) that in Chicago "the union attitude and policy toward the Negro cannot be summed up by any simple generalization." Some of the unions in Chicago admitted Negroes either freely or in coordinate or subordinate locals, while others excluded them entirely. The Commission found (1) that when Negroes were admitted on an equal basis and given a square deal, the feeling inside the union was nearly always harmonious; (2) that Negroes objected to being organized in separate locals which were subordinated to the affiliated white local but at times seemed to prefer separate coordinate locals; and (3) that there were cases of exclusion of Negroes even by locals which were not compelled to do so by the constitution of their international organization. In spite of such cases of exclusion, however, the Commission concluded that "the proportion of Negro union members to the Negro population in Chicago is almost exactly the same as the propor-

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[1] Reference 32 (a), pp. 32 *et seq.*

[2] Reference 44 (b), pp. 37-9.

> tion of white members to the white population in Chicago." The majority of these Negro union members were apparently in unions of the less skilled occupations such as those of stock yard workers, hod carriers and janitors, whereas the more skilled trades, machinists and electricians, for example, tended to excluded colored workers.[1] Similarly, in Pennsylvania (1925) "the bulk of the Negro membership is confined to longshoremen, workers in the building trades, teamsters, soft coal miners and musicians. The Negro has no representation in machine and other skilled and well paid trades." [2] Among students of this problem it is generally felt that in most northern cities the trade unions fail to provide adequate leadership for the Negro. His strength lies in the open shops and in many cases he has made his way against active opposition from unions.[3]

A variety of conditions and attitudes have been given at various times as explanations of this lack of organization among colored workers in cities of the North. The unions contend that Negroes are not found in the skilled trades, which are those most highly organized, because they do not possess the requisite ability or training, or else are unwilling to fulfill the long periods of necessary apprenticeship. In answer to this argument, it is frequently contended by Negroes and students of race problems that colored men coming from the South with experience and training in skilled work are even then not allowed to practice their trades, while, in addition, Negroes are almost never admitted as apprentices in the specialized industries of the North. The unions further allege that it is practically impossible to organize Negroes, as they lack the ability to cooperate, are entirely apathetic or antagonistic in regard to organization, and are

[1] References 17 (a), pp. 628-9, 411 *et seq.*; *cf.* 40 (a).

[2] Reference 110 (a), p. 22.

[3] References 111 (a), p. 2; *cf.* 57 (a), p. 719.

too timid to oppose employers in demanding better wages and conditions of work; in other words, that Negroes are not good union material.[1]

In opposition to these contentions it is frequently pointed out that where colored workers have been admitted to unions they have proved loyal and desirable members, and refutation of the belief that they are unable to cooperate is seen in the occasional organization of their own unions, such as the national union of colored railway men. It is true that Negroes are often uninterested in joining labor organizations, but this is due partly to their ignorance of the benefits which might be derived from cooperation, and more largely to their previous experiences with unions. These have very often generated the feeling that it would be futile even to think of joining, since many unions deliberately exclude colored men in one way or another, or, if Negroes are admitted, they are not given equal consideration with white members and are likely to pay their initiation fees for nothing. The Negroes complain of exclusion, of not being given employment after they have joined, and of being discriminated against when strike settlements are being made, so that they lose positions they have occupied before they joined the strike. Undoubtedly the colored worker has reason for that feeling of suspicion and dislike which is frequently attributed to him, for there are evidences of his mistreatment by unions.

The unions have frequently shown a tendency to consider the Negro as a sort of natural-born strike breaker and to accuse him of being a "scab." This is resented by the Negroes, who contend that often they are not allowed to join the striking union or that attempts to include them were made only on the eve of the strike, and, too, that many times they did not know they were being employed as strike breakers.

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[1] See references in Section 5 (2) of the Classified Bibliography for substantiation of these and the following opinions.

Furthermore, in many cases the Negro owes his industrial opportunity to the employer alone or to the vacancy occasioned by the strike, both of which considerations lead him to sympathize with the employer and not with organized labor.

A study of organized labor's attitude toward the colored worker leads to the conclusion that although the size of colored populations in northern cities has increased by leaps and bounds and although Negroes are entering northern industries in heretofore unparalleled numbers, yet this influx has not been followed by the free acceptance of Negroes into northern labor unions. It is true that the majority of colored workers are in occupations which have not been extensively unionized, but race prejudice still abounds in northern cities to such an extent that Negroes who are engaged in organized trades are prevented from joining the unions of those trades. The situation is not entirely discouraging, for there are evidences of a growing desire on the part of union leaders to organize colored workers, and the entry of Negroes into the industrial field has led to an increase in the number of colored union members.

> An illustration of the recency of this inclusion of the Negro in organized labor is found in the report of the Chicago Commission.[1] Of 33 nationals and internationals stating the length of time Negroes had been members of their organizations, 12 had included Negroes only within the last two years and 20 only within the last four years (about 1916 to 1920).

In general, the attitude of the unions seems more favorable to the organization of colored workmen than it has in previous decades and " the policy of excluding Negroes from unions, whether by direct or indirect means, is considered wrong and shortsighted by the great majority of labor leaders."[1] What is needed now is the adoption of this attitude in the actual practices and policies of local unions which deal directly with the Negroes. The increase of Negroes in northern cities and industries has strengthened the official interest of organized labor in the problem of the colored worker but the pressure exerted by these new industrial laborers upon many local unions is, as yet, very slight.

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[1] Reference 17 (a), p. 408.

THE INTERRELATIONS OF WORKER AND EMPLOYER

The increase of colored workers in northern cities has brought the Negro into more frequent contact with white employers of the North. The resulting attitude of industrialists has varied according to the needs of the time, the employers' past experiences with Negroes and their personal prejudices. Some consented to hire the Negro because he spoke English, was cheerful and strong and was not a union man; others accepted him merely because they needed labor and could find it nowhere else; others, again, refused even to give him a trial because they considered him lazy, unreliable, and incapable of speed, training or skill, or because they felt their white workers would seriously object to mingling with colored laborers. Whatever the basis for these beliefs, the Negro was dependent upon the resulting policy of the employers for the chance to gain a foothold in northern industry. These policies and attitudes have influenced his entrance into the industrial field, his contacts with white co-workers and his chances for promotion. Largely because of the labor shortage during the war, Negroes were called North and given an opportunity to try their fortunes in various occupations. Their retention in those occupations depends largely on what the employers think of them, par-

[1] References 17 (a), p. 433; *cf.* 119 (a), p. 244; 129 (a), p. 339; 46 (a), p. 303.

ticularly now that war conditions are not limiting the supply of laborers and a freer choice of employees is possible. Since northern employers are naturally not hiring Negroes from altruistic or philanthropic motives, their opinion as to the desirability of retaining their colored workers or employing new ones will depend upon the extent to which Negroes have been successful in competing with other available labor and in measuring up to the demands of northern industrial standards.

CHAPTER VI

The Negro's Industrial Achievement

Few aspects of the Negro's entry into the industrial field have been the subject of as much biased discussion and unfounded opinion as has the question of the colored laborer's success or failure in his new occupations. For many decades white people have assumed that Negroes are inherently unfitted for industrial work; consequently, when they began to be extensively employed during the war, it was often taken for granted that the experiment was doomed to failure. Many of the employers in the North shared this feeling and at times refused even to give the Negro a trial because they considered his unfitness to be an established fact. Moreover, employers have frequently used their own prejudices or their experiences with a few Negroes in one particular establishment as a basis for generalizing on the characteristics of all colored laborers throughout the North. Both white people and Negroes have tended to view this phase of the Negro's industrial activities only in the light of their personal and often unwarranted prejudices, for this question of his success seems to be exceptionally subject to the influence of individual bias. It is particularly desirable, therefore, to discover how large numbers of employers throughout the North tend to regard Negro labor since they have had a few years of actual and extensive experience with these workers.

ADAPTABILITY OF NEGRO WORKERS

In recent years, investigations have been made in the effort to obtain as reliable an estimate as possible of the

Negro's success in the industrial life of northern cities. From a consideration of these surveys it is evident that no single nor final conclusion can be drawn for the entire North, since in some cases colored workers have been eminently satisfactory; in others, they have been decided failures; and in the majority of instances, they have been classed as falling at various intervals between these two extremes. In regard to the general quality of giving satisfaction, the majority of employers consider the Negro's labor to be as satisfactory as that of the white man, especially as that of the European immigrant whose place he has been taking. In every city there are employers who think the Negro is a failure as an industrial worker but, as a rule, the number of such employers is surpassed by the number who found him satisfactory, and employers of the largest groups of colored workers are found in the class of those who express themselves as satisfied with the work of the newcomers.

> Surveys which have been carried on in Cincinnati, Chicago and Detroit exemplify the extent to which Negro labor has given satisfaction in the industrial centers. In Cincinnati (1919) inquiries were made of over 1,700 employers and over three-fourths of these considered Negroes to be satisfactory employees, while less than one-fifth of them held the opposite view.[1] The conclusions of the Chicago Race Commission (1920) are particularly important because a careful attempt was made to cover representative industries employing large numbers of Negroes, so that their findings might be as complete and reliable as possible. Of 137 establishments employing 5 or more Negroes, 118 reported that colored labor had been satisfactory, while 19 said it had not. The predominance of the favorable opinion is more evident when it is seen that the 118 establishments were those employing the largest

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[1] See Bibliography, reference 120 (a), p. 526.

groups of Negroes, since the Negro employees who were thus reported as giving satisfaction numbered 21,640 in contrast to 697 colored workers employed by the concerns which were dissatisfied. The Commission concluded from its survey that " Despite occasional statements that the Negro is slow or shiftless, the volume of evidence before the Commission shows that Negroes are satisfactory employees and compare favorably with other racial groups."[1] A diversity of opinions among employers was found in Detroit. The survey made by Haynes (1918) contains a report from the general manager of an association comprising in its membership the leading firms and employers of the city. This report states that some of the employers were highly pleased and some were not, but Haynes concluded that, on the whole, Negro labor was successful in Detroit. Eight years later the Detroit Bureau of Research found an even more pronounced atmosphere of satisfaction.[2]

Similar conclusions are expressed by several individuals who have made a close study of the Negro's progress in the industrial world. C. S. Johnson states that in a survey carried on by the National Urban League among 600 plants in eight northern cities, " fully two-thirds of these were unqualifiedly satisfied with the quality of the work done by (Negroes). Among the others, some had found them satisfactory only under white leadership; some found differences between northern and southern Negroes; some found them suited only for certain kinds of work; and some could not use them satisfactorily anywhere."[3] Among the most thorough and reliable investigators of this subject, Epstein and Reuter are the two who have voiced the greatest number of reservations in their opinions of

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[1] References 17 (a), pp. 378, 373-4; *cf.* 57 (r), p. 140.

[2] References 46 (f), pp. 17-9; 22 (a), sec. iii, pp. 17-22; *cf.* 157 (b), p. 420; 124 (a), p. 130.

[3] References 57 (d), pp. 407-8; *cf.* 157 (a), pp. 51, 108; 145 (d), p. 109; 151 (a), p. 303; 102 (a), p. 9; 46 (j), p. 31.

> the Negro's success. The former considered that up to the time of his survey of conditions in Pittsburgh, the Negro newcomers had not adjusted themselves to industrial demands in Pittsburgh with complete satisfaction. He intimated, however, that they might ultimately be successful, as Negroes who had been in the North any length of time were as efficient as white people.[1] Reuter believes that the colored laborer has usually proved less satisfactory than the white man in manufacturing industries, but in the non-manufacturing establishments the opinion of his success are more favorable.[2]

Most of the opinions and investigations in regard to the Negro's status in the industrial establishments have been concerned mainly with this question of the employers' views as to the general satisfaction Negroes have given. In addition, a few surveys have sought information on the more specific, subordinate factors of efficiency, reliability, amount of absenteeism and turnover, which undoubtedly influence an employer's conception of the Negro's success or failure. Where the question of efficiency has been mentioned, it has been found that the majority of employers believed colored laborers to be as efficient [3] as white workers, although there were instances of employers who felt that Negroes were less efficient. The proportions on each side seem to follow closely the division of opinion concerning the satisfaction given by Negro labor. Little has been done in investigating the comparative amount of supervision required by white and black workers and the slight material which is at hand is so variable that no definite conclusions are possible. It is generally felt, however, that the right kind of supervision plays an important part in the attitude of the Negro toward his work and in his final output. Likewise, only a few surveys have been concerned with the regularity or extent of absenteeism among colored employees as compared with white. In the studies which have been made, employers seem to be rather evenly divided in their opinions as to whether Negroes are absent from work more frequently than are white workers, with a slight preponderance in favor of the view that Negroes are no more irregular than other groups. However, employers of the largest numbers of colored workers tended to feel that they were absent more frequently than white employees and attributed this to the previous work habits of these Negroes in the South, where they had been accustomed to working intermittently; they seemed to feel, too, that the Negro's tendency to be absent from work was lessened with his increased length of residence in the North. On the basis of available material it seems probable that Negroes are subject to a great amount of absenteeism and the almost balanced opinion of employers on this subject leaves a less favorable impression regarding the Negro's regularity than is found in a study of opinions concerning his general satisfaction and efficiency.[1]

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[1] Reference 32 (a), pp. 33-4.

[2] Reference 119 (a), p. 242. For other investigations see references 145 (c), pp. 41-4, 93; 115(a), p. 836; 57 (g), p. 302; 57 (i), p. 19.

[3] The reports do not define their use of the term "efficient" but from the context it evidently means the ability to work without waste of time and effort.

> Reports from a few of the intensive surveys which have included consideration of these specific factors illustrate the findings of most of the investigators of the subject. The Detroit Bureau of Research concluded after its investigation that "two-thirds of the employers, hiring 82 per cent of the men, believed that their colored workmen were as

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[1] For efficiency, see references 145 (c), p. 117; 151 (a), p. 297; 124 (a), p. 125; 127 (a), pp. 202-3; 44 (b), p. 27; 22 (a), sec. iii, p. 17; 17 (a), pp. 374-5; 57 (r), p. 140; 157 (a), p. 106; 43 (a), p. 733.

For reliability, see references 17 (a), pp. 376-8; 56 (a), p. 1225.

For regularity, see references 1 (a), p. 620; 44 (b), p. 27; 22 (a), sec. iii; 46 (f), p. 18; 17 (a), p. 377; 127 (a), p. 202.

efficient as white workers on the same type of work or were even more so."[1] The Chicago Race Commission received reports on the efficiency of colored workers from a large proportion of the employers interviewed. Some of the employers were reluctant to make comparisons between colored and white labor, as they felt that the Negro had so recently entered manufacturing industries that he could not be expected to be as efficient and reliable as the more experienced white worker. Of those reporting, however, 71 considered the Negro as efficient as the white worker, while 22 had found him less so. It was noted that "the 71 establishments which reported Negro labor as equally efficient as white labor included all of the large employers of Negro labor, with very few exceptions." In regard to the comparative reliability of white and colored workers, the number of employers who reported to the Commission that the Negroes did not require more supervision than whites was nearly three times as large as the number of those who felt that he was less reliable. However, as contrary opinions were expressed by industrial concerns in which conditions seemed very similar, it is impossible to draw definite conclusions from this material.[2] The information in regard to amount of absenteeism is also so varied and contradictory that deductions from it are hazardous. For example, in a survey of the largest industrial employers in Cleveland the conclusion was reached that although there was a popular belief that Negroes were inclined to take a holiday every few days, yet when employers had thoroughly investigated the matter by actual check, they found that "the lay-off evil was actually less prevalent among the family Negroes from the South than with immigrants assigned to like work."[3] At the time Haynes made his survey (1918) of industrial conditions in

[1] Reference 22 (a), sec. iii, p. 17.

[2] Reference 17 (a), pp. 374-8.

[3] Reference 1 (a), p. 620.

> Detroit, he found a widespread impression that Negroes were lacking in regularity but the Detroit Bureau of Research (1926) reported that the majority of employers considered the Negroes as regular and in some cases more regular than white workmen on the same job. However, the Bureau also stated that although the employers who considered the Negro less regular were in the minority, yet their establishments contained the greatest number of Negroes and those holding the more skilled and better-paid jobs. The Bureau concluded, therefore, that the Negroes as a group were slightly more inclined to absenteeism than a similar group of white workers.[1]

LABOR TURNOVER

Labor turnover has been one of the most conspicuous problems in connection with colored workers and one of the chief complaints against them. When Negroes first began to be used extensively in northern industries, it was found that they had a strong tendency to move on from one job to another, often before they had worked out the transportation which in some cases had been advanced.

> The experience of the railroads during the war period was anything but encouraging; many companies imported thousands of southern Negro laborers but were unable to keep them any length of time, as the migrants soon moved on to more promising fields. The railroads were constantly short of labor, although they were pouring a steady stream of migrants into their camps. The Erie Railroad was considered one of the most successful organizations in handling colored labor but even this concern reported that among 9,000 men brought during a period of six or seven months, a full turnover occurred every eleven days, and only the first 2,000 stayed long enough to work out their

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[1] References 46 (f), p. 18; 22 (a), sec. iii.

transportation.[1] The steel mills and industrial concerns were frequently faced with the same problem. For example in Pittsburgh, Epstein found there was a prevailing tendency among the migrants to jump from one job to another and gives an instance of one company which had imported a thousand men within a year and at the time of Epstein's visit had only 300 left.[2]

This problem of labor turnover seems to have been particularly acute during those years when Negroes were first moving into northern industries in large numbers. In recent years, since they have had time to become more adjusted to conditions in the North, there has apparently been a lessened tendency to change jobs, although according to most of the recent surveys Negroes still have a higher rate of turnover than do white workers. However, numerous investigations indicate that in establishments showing great mobility of colored laborers, this condition is usually due to poor selection of employees, poor housing, and to unsatisfactory conditions of labor.

The factor of selection is highly important because the Negro laborers are not a homogeneous group of identical personalities but present the variations of character, training and ability that would be found among a similar group of white workers. Therefore, the employer needs to know as far as possible what sort of colored workers he wants and is getting. When employers have hired Negroes on the theory that they are all alike and without reference to their individual characteristics and ability, the result has naturally been a large proportion of misfits, who soon gave up or were forced out. This factor of selection—or lack of it—was particularly noticeable in the movements during the war, for railroads and labor agents were so eager to secure a large supply of workmen that they did not stop to consider the characteristics of the laborers they brought North. Agents often received a commission on the basis of the number of men they sent, not on the quality or permanence of the supply, so that they made no attempt to weed out even the obviously undesirables.

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[1] Reference 145 (d), pp. 122-4.

[2] Reference 32 (a), pp. 21, 34.

Naturally, the first response to the call for workmen was made by the young, restless, single men who were able to accept the offers of immediate free transportation. Many of them were the idlers and loafers who saw a chance for easy money and delightful change. The more mature and reliable—usually married men—could not so easily break loose and join the rush. As a consequence, the earliest movements contained a large number who had not been economically successful in the South and were even greater failures in the midst of the complex industrial life of the North. They simply floated on from one job and one place to the next, inevitably swelling the turnover rate for colored laborers as well as arousing the wrath and disgust of employers. When industrial managers began to exercise more discrimination in selecting their Negro workers, after the first rush and excitement, the complaints against Negro labor tended to be less widespread. The survey of the United States Department of Labor expresses the view of many students when it says: "The labor problem of the Negro worker is largely one of selection and supervision. Industries with executives far-sighted enough to pick the men, to think in terms of the Negro's human relations, and to provide housing quarters on a family basis were universally favorable to Negro workers." [1]

Among the Negro laborers there were also steady, married men who would probably have been permanent workers had not the inability to secure decent living quarters led them to seek other cities where conditions, they hoped, would be better. Employers, as a rule, gave little consideration to the housing problems of their new colored workers, and the deplorable situations in some of the railroad camps and the Negro urban sections caused migrants to move on.

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[1] References 145 (d), p. 150; *cf. ibid.*, p. 124; 60 (a), p. 384; 1 (a), p. 621; 32 (a), pp. 10, 21.

Then, too, labor transients have maintained that they would not remain any longer than necessary in plants where wages were low, or where discrimination was shown in the type of work and the wages given Negroes, or where the working conditions, such as the places of work, the washrooms and lunch rooms allotted to them, were unsatisfactory and inferior to those assigned to their white co-workers. In fact, where Negroes have made extraordinarily unfavorable showings in efficiency, turnover, regularity and general satisfaction, a great deal of the difficulty has been due to poor selection of employees and to lack of provision for adequate housing or decent working facilities. It is probably true that where wages, conditions of work and the nature of the job are similar, so that only the factor of race is different, the rate of turnover would be no greater among Negroes than among white workers. More careful, statistical analysis of this phase of the situation is needed.

> Specific investigations[1] of colored workers in northern industries contain evidence of the extent of labor turnover among Negroes and of the underlying factors to which it is largely attributable. The Chicago Race Commission reported that the majority of employers who were interviewed considered the rate of turnover to be higher among Negroes than among white employees; in discussing this situation the Commission emphasized the fact that the Negroes shared the white man's desire to better his wages

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[1] It is improbable that the exact figures can legitimately be compared.

and conditions of work wherever possible, so that if he were not allowed to advance or if he found himself subject to discrimination, he felt justified in seeking other employment.[1] In a survey conducted among 75 of the largest industrial employers in Cleveland it was found that the rate of turnover varied considerably in the different firms. "In some instances firms report that where 25 per cent of their workers are Negroes, the turnover among them has sometimes been as high as 75 per cent of the turnover for the entire plant. On the other hand, an equal number of firms state that the turnover has never . . . been any greater than for other racial groups. Employment managers . . . state that where the turnover has been out of proportion to the number of Negroes employed, the explanation is not to be found in any fundamental deficiencies of the race, but rather in conditions which are rapidly correcting themselves." On the whole, this survey concluded that the problem of labor turnover was at that time (1924) little more serious among Negroes than among other groups, although some individual firms did show high rates of turnover. The report maintains that "in spite of the fact that the Negro in industry is a comparatively new factor in this territory, he is but slightly more responsible for the shifting of jobs than is the native of the district or the foreign born, who on the whole has had a longer time to adapt himself to local conditions."[2] The effect of working conditions upon the amount of turnover is also indicated by reports of the situation in Detroit. The general impression derived from surveys there is that, on an average, the rate of turnover is not much higher for Negroes than for white workers and that it varies considerably in different firms. Wesley maintains that the largest labor turnover among Negroes in Detroit is in plants with the smallest wage scale, while firms paying high wages are not bothered with a high turnover. For example, it was found during one survey in Detroit that the average monthly turnover of Negro labor in the foundry which employed the largest number of Negroes was only 10 per cent, while the largest turnover reported at all was 70 per cent, which occurred in a small foundry. It was discovered that in the large establishment the Negro worker received 80 cents an hour, which was the same wage as that received by white men used on the same work, whereas in the other case, the Negroes received 53 cents an hour compared with 70 cents an hour given to the white laborers.[1] In the survey report of the American Management Association it is maintained that the disparity in the rate of turnover among white and colored workers would not be great if intelligent methods of employment were used, as experience has shown that careful selection lessens the turnover of Negro employees.[2]

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[1] References 17 (a), p. 377; 124 (a), p. 117.

[2] Reference 1 (a), pp. 620-1.

Investigators and students of these problems of turnover, absenteeism and general success of Negro labor do not contend that all Negroes have proved efficient, competent and satisfactory members of the northern industrial community. They recognize the existence of many shiftless, lazy and incompetent failures among them, but they do maintain that the proportion of unsatisfactory laborers is inevitably lessened when the workers are carefully selected, are not discriminated against in wages and working conditions, and are given even a little personal care and attention during the period of their adjustment.

OTHER ASPECTS

In considering the characteristics and success of Negro labor, employers have at times distinguished between workers who had recently arrived from the South and the Negroes who had been in the North for a considerable period of time. Where such distinctions have been made, the majority of employers are found to favor the northern Negro, believing him to be more reliable and satisfactory, and contending that the southern Negro is handicapped by his former habits of irregular, haphazard labor. There are, however, a few instances of employers who maintain that the migrant is a more successful industrial worker than the northern Negro, but this view is contrary to that expressed by the majority of those who have considered the subject. The contentions on both sides tend to be mere belief, as the factual basis for these opinions has not been sufficiently investigated to lend much support to either side.

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[1] References 22 (a), sec. iii, p. 20; 43 (a), p. 735; 151 (a), p. 303.

[2] References 4 (a), p. 25; *cf.* 110 (a), p. 39; 111 (a), p. 2.

In Abell's report of the Cleveland survey he contends that "employers hold that the Negroes born in the North whose parents lived here before them, are giving the factories more difficulties than the newcomer."[1] Epstein found that Pittsburgh employers believed that the Negro who had lived there any length of time was less docile but more reliable and efficient than the newcomers.[2] Stronger opinions in favor of the northern Negro are found in the reports from Detroit and Chicago. During the investigation carried on by the Detroit Bureau several employers expressed the opinion that the Negroes who had just migrated tended to retain their southern habits of intermittent and indifferent work but as they remained in northern industries they gradually lost these undesirable characteristics.[3] Some of the employers interviewed in Chicago also differentiated between the newly arrived southern Negro and his northern co-worker, contending that the

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[1] References 1 (a), p. 621; *cf.* 35 (a), p. 126.

[2] References 32 (a), p. 34; *cf.* 124 (a), p. 125; 145 (d), p. 127.

[3] Reference 22 (a), sec. iii, p. 19.

> former had more pronounced habits of irregularity and unsteadiness than the latter. The Commission found, however, that it was only the employers of large numbers of Negroes who made a distinction between these two types, as the employers of small groups were likely to judge all Negroes by the recent migrants.[1]

In many cities special agencies and commissions have endeavored to increase the Negro's chances of success in his new occupational field by aiding him in his task of adjustment to northern industrial life. This work has been carried on particularly by the branches of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, which in many cities have been established or have enlarged their activities in order to help migrants become satisfactory members of their new working groups.

> For example, the Urban Leagues in Detroit and Chicago have not only found employment for the newcomers but have sought to aid employers in selecting suitable workers and to instruct the Negroes in modes of dress and work and in the qualities and habits demanded of them in industrial organizations. The Industrial Department of the Chicago branch has found places for migrants, has made industrial investigations, provided lectures for working men and foremen of Negro labor, has investigated complaints of all sorts, and has selected and fitted men for various positions.[2]

The Division of Negro Economics which was established in the United States Department of Labor during the war was another organization of important assistance to the migrant in his process of industrial adjustment. This Division was

[1] Reference 17 (a), pp. 372-3.

[2] References 17 (a), p. 147; 145 (d), pp. 151-3; 150 (d), pp. 334-5; 43 (a), p. 730.

under the direction of George E. Haynes, who was instrumental in establishing numerous Negro Advisory Committees throughout the country. These Committees were organized by states, counties and cities, and sought to provide a meeting place where representatives of employers, white workers and Negro workers could discuss their mutual problems frankly and amicably. The chief aim of these Committees was to bring about a peaceful and satisfactory adjustment of the Negro to his new situation in the industrial world.[1]

EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGRO WOMEN

On account of the scarcity of material it is impossible to form conclusive opinions on the success of Negro women in northern industry. The colored woman has entered the industrial world so recently that further investigations are needed before reliable conclusions can be drawn concerning the satisfaction she has given or in regard to the comparative success of southern and northern Negro women.

> Some suggestive indications along this line are to be found in the Chicago Commission's report (1920). Although the statements of industrial employers were by no means unanimous, the Commission concluded that, on the whole, Negro women workers were considered as teachable and efficient as white women after they had received the necessary training; and the report specifically states that "Many of the establishments had employed large numbers of Negro women as an experiment and had found them satisfactory."[2] The report of a survey (1920) carried on under the auspices of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor indicates that Negro women have, as a rule, been fairly successful.

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[1] References 145 (c), pp. 12-3, 19-21; 46 (a), p. 302; 46 (h), p. 460.

[2] Reference 17 (a), pp. 380-5, 625.

The statement is made: "Examination of available data shows that the Negro woman was as successful as could reasonably be expected in view of her handicaps, the discrimination against her, and the dearth of industrial incentives." While this investigation included women in some northern states, a large number of the Negroes studied in the survey were working in southern tobacco plants, so that the conclusions do not apply solely to Negro women in northern industries. Specific statements from employers in New York, New Jersey and Illinois, however, leave the impression that a similar conclusion would express the situation in the northern centers.[1]

IN SUMMARY

An analysis of the information which is available concerning the Negro's industrial success shows justification for believing that the colored laborer is not always the slow, irregular, and inefficient workman he is popularly pictured as being. Although many employers are apparently not satisfied with their colored labor, specific investigations of employers' opinions, of actual production and of habits of work among the Negroes throw the weight of evidence in favor of the conclusion that the Negro is a satisfactory industrial worker. While this objective evidence is not so sufficient as it should be, it at least suggests the conclusion that Negroes have certainly not been proved universally less satisfactory than white labor but, on the contrary, have given good indications of comparing favorably with their white co-workers. The success of Negro labor in modern industry has not yet been established beyond question and disagreement. However, in forming an opinion on the subject it is well to keep in mind the caution: "The habit of making generalizations from one or two experiences can do great damage. Whereas among white workers, a poor worker, or ten of them, are regarded as poor individuals, the distinctiveness of the Negroes, and the common disposition to regard them as a group, make it easy to pass judgment on all Negro workers on the basis of a few outstanding unfortunate incidents." [1]

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[1] References 145 (g), pp. 9-10; *cf.* 145 (c), p. 130; 151 (a), p. 303.

It is desirable to have more intensive studies of the nature of the occupations in which Negroes are reported as being satisfactory and the sort of jobs in which they are unsuccessful. Is there a difference according to the kind of work or does the factor of success depend wholly on selection of employees, conditions of work and living, and attitudes of employers and white co-workers?

RETENTION OF NEGROES IN INDUSTRY

In a consideration of the new economic opportunities for the Negro the question naturally arises as to whether colored laborers have been able to retain the positions which they secured under unusual circumstances. The true test of the Negro's success in northern industry lies in his ability to keep his job in the face of competition and in times of depression when there is a labor surplus and white men are searching for work. The close of the war threw thousands of white laborers back into the industrial field, thus materially increasing the supply of labor. On the other hand, the passage of the immigration acts of 1921 and 1924 curtailed the number of foreign laborers available and strengthened the position of the Negroes as a source of supply for unskilled labor.

The need for a large number of colored workers has varied considerably within the last fifteen years; during periods of depression such as occurred around 1920-1921 and such as exists in the present winter of 1929-1930, the status of the Negro in northern industry is beset with difficulties and dangers. Inevitably at such crises many establishments have curtailed their activities and reduced their labor force, with the result that race prejudices and antagonisms have had numerous opportunities for full expression. Employers who had employed Negroes only because of the scarcity of labor, and those who preferred white men, or who considered colored laborers unsatisfactory, had a chance during these periods of depression to eliminate colored men from their industrial plants. The full extent of the increase in industrial opportunities for the Negro is only evident when his status is observed after he has weathered this increased competition of white labor and the months of decreased industrial activity. We must await the 1930 census figures for comprehensive information concerning the number of Negroes at present employed in the industries of northern cities, although these figures will probably portray an over pessimistic picture. In the meantime the estimates and reports of various students and investigators provide indications of the trend toward the industrial retention or elimination of Negroes.

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[1] Reference 57 (d), p. 408.

All of the surveys made since 1920 have found the Negro still a member of the industrial world, even after the close of the war and the depression of the winter of 1920. There are indications, however, that a smaller proportion of Negroes in the North are now in the fields of manufacturing and mechanical industries, trade and transportation, and that numbers of them have gone back into the general field of domestic and personal service, while many of the Negro women who had given up outside employment have been forced to return to work.

> For example, in 1925 the Pennsylvania survey found that since 1920 the number of Negroes had decreased 10 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical lines, and agriculture and domestic service were the only two classifica-

tions out of the nine showing slight increase over 1920. The report states, however, that "While it is a fact that after 1920 Negroes fell back from their high peak, nevertheless, they gained a foothold much in advance of their pre-war situation. . . . There are still 22.2 per cent fewer Negroes working in 'domestic and personal service' than in 1910."[1] It remains to be seen after the 1930 census whether a similar situation prevails throughout the North.

Undoubtedly a period of business depression tends to force many out of the industrial field and at such times Negroes as a group are probably the worst sufferers, although white workers, too, are faced with unemployment and the necessity of accepting more undesirable jobs. Negroes, however, have the added handicaps of discrimination based on color and more frequent lack of experience and training; furthermore, purely on the grounds of seniority of employment they would be forced out of work before whites who had been on the field for a longer time. During the winter of 1920-1921 a serious unemployment situation arose in such centers as Chicago and Detroit, and thousands were without work. Surveys which were made of the situation at that time, however, agree fairly well that the Negroes were not much worse off than the white workers and that comparatively few evidences of race discrimination were found in employers' methods of reducing their supply of labor, so that in many industries Negroes tended to retain the proportion of the total workers which they had held before the depression. Although this occasion of enforced reduction gave employers a chance to get rid of colored workers if they were dissatisfied, there seems to have been no widespread and disproportionate dismissal of colored employees, particularly in the largest establishments.

[1] Reference 110 (a), p. 17.

> The Chicago Race Commission reported that during the winter of 1920-1921 "common labor was reduced in all the large plants from 20 to 50 per cent. Negroes, mostly common laborers, suffered most from this reduction. At one period there were as many as 15,000 Negros unemployed in Chicago." The Commission concluded, however, that "the reduction of labor was usually carried out by employers with some system, and few instances of gross race discrimination were reported."[1] In a discussion of this same situation, the Chicago Urban League was reported to have placed only 631 men during the six months from January 1 to June 30, 1921. "Prior to this the League placed 1,200 a month, or twice as many monthly as were placed in six months during the period of unemployment. Women returned to domestic service from the factories and their placements were double those of the men for the same period. . . . But the significant development in this matter of unemployment is the fact that Negroes have retained their ratio in all the large factories and industries now opened. . . . If colored workers who occupied positions that were vacated by whites during the war can retain these places now, when many of these same white workers are looking for employment, it is fair to assume that they have made very definite progress toward permanency in industry."[2]

With the revival of industrial production after 1922 and the renewed migration of Negroes from the South, they became more firmly intrenched in northern industries and are still important.[3] Whether the present period of industrial depression (1929-1930) will reduce the Negro to a lower place on the industrial scale than he has yet occupied since the war is a matter that cannot be settled on the basis of the material now in print. Studies of unemployment now in process, under the auspices of Departments of the Urban League and other agencies, indicate that the per cent unemployed among Negro workers is considerably larger than among other population elements,[1] but that the duration of unemployment tends to be shorter. Though the view is subject to drastic revision after the 1930 census information is at hand, the situation at present seems to be that Negroes have lost some of the gains they made during the peak of the war demand for labor but are still far ahead of their status in 1910 in regard to the number of their race employed in industry. Moreover, they are evidently being retained in the industrial concerns, though to what extent still remains a question.

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[1] References 17 (a), pp. 626-7; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 402-3.

[2] Reference 48 (e), p. 325.

[3] References 110 (a), p. 17; 22 (a), sec. iii, pp. 6-7; 151 (a), pp. 304-5; 62 (b), pp. 970-1; 48(e), pp. 323-6.

[1] Reference 104 (b), pp. 11-5.

CHAPTER VII

DEMOGRAPHIC READJUSTMENT OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

THE age, sex and marital status of Negro populations in northern cities directly reflect the economic nature of these recent movements. Since they were primarily a response to new economic opportunities, they inevitably tended to select young adults who were in the best working years. The effect of this tendency is seen in the fact that throughout the North, children under 20 years of age form only about one-third of the total Negro population, whereas a similar age group forms practically one-half of the colored people in the South and over 40 per cent of the group of native whites of native parentage in the North.

AGE

Table 15 indicates similar disproportions in the age group 20 to 44 years, the period in which laborers are especially valuable in unskilled industrial positions. Over half of the Negro population of the North falls within this group, which, on the other hand, forms only a little more than a third of the colored people living in the South. The age distribution of Negroes in northern cities, as shown in the 1920 census, gives further evidence of the selective nature of a migration which is called forth by economic opportunties. For example, 66 per cent of the colored groups in Detroit were between 20 and 44 years of age, with only 22.7 per cent under 20. In New York the young adults comprised 60.9 per cent of that city's total Negro population and in Chicago the same age group formed 59.9 per cent. When these proportions

TABLE 15.—AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF NATIVE BORN, BY RACE AND BY SECTION, 1920

(Computed from *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. iii, pp. 16, 21 *et seq.*)

	Per cent Under 20 Years	*Per cent 20–44 Years*	*Per cent 45 and Over*
Total U. S. Population	40.7	38.4	20.8
Total Native White of Native Parentage	45.2	35.9	18.8
Total Negro Population	45.2	38.2	16.4
Native White of Native Parentage in North	43.7	36.1	20.1
Negroes in North	29.8	51.4	18.6
Negroes in South	47.9	35.9	16.0

are compared with the age distribution for the Negro population in the entire United States, the influence of this migratory factor is apparent, for in the country as a whole colored children under 20 form 45.2 per cent of the Negroes and only 38.2 per cent of the race fall within the period 20 to 44 years.

Wherever recent surveys of conditions among Negroes in northern cities have included a study of the age composition of the group, they have found that the colored population contained an abnormally large proportion of those in the early adult years.[1] Such findings are not surprising in cases where the surveys were made during the early years of this rush of Negroes to northern industries, when the presence of many recent migrants inevitably exerted an influence upon the age composition of this group. Similar conditions, however, were found a decade after the first widespread demand for colored labor,[2] and the disturbing effect of migration upon the age distribution of colored populations in the North has been emphasized both in the reports of investigations of specific cities and by students of conditions in general among northern Negroes.[1]

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[1] See Bibliography, references 32 (a), pp. 18-9; 57 (g), p. 300; 44 (b), p. 14; 120 (a), p. 525.

[2] References 22 (a), sec. ii, p. 9; 81 (a), pp. 35, 37.

> In Columbus, Ohio, the proportion of young adults among the Negroes was remarkably high and became even more abnormal when the study of age distribution was limited to those who had come to Columbus within the last six years[2] for the ages of more than two-thirds of these recent migrants were between fifteen and fifty years. The report of the Urban League's investigation of the Negroes of Waterbury, Connecticut, contains a typical discussion of the age composition of a group of colored people in a northern industrial center: "The unnatural composition of the Negro group is evident both in the unusually large percentages in the age groups 25 to 34, 35 to 44, and in the unusually small percentage of children. This suggests migration of adults as a strong factor in population increase. Among the Negroes 7.1 per cent of the population was under 5 years of age as compared with 11.4 per cent for the city as a whole. On the other hand, for the age limits 35-44, the proportion for Negroes was 20.0 per cent as compared with 14.6 per cent for the city as a whole, even with the large number of adult immigrants included."[3]

Where careful studies have been made of the age composition of northern Negro populations, there is general agreement concerning the abnormal distribution of the various age groups. Throughout the North there is this apparent tendency for a colored population to show a massing of individuals in the early adult years and a small proportion of children and old people.

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[1] References 57 (a), p. 718; 119 (a), pp. 53-6.

[2] Reference 81 (a), pp. 35, 37.

[3] Reference 57 (g), p. 300.

MARITAL CONDITION

Since the 1920 Census little has been done in the way of careful analysis of the marital composition of colored people in northern cities. Surveys which have been made of specific urban groups in the North during the last ten years have seldom paid much attention to this aspect of Negro life and have done little more than record a few general observations.

> Among the studies which have been made, the report from Columbus, Ohio, shows an unusual trend. The survey undertaken in that city in 1924 reported an abnormally low percentage of single people in the group investigated, only 20.7 per cent of the males and 14.5 per cent of the females being unmarried. This was admitted to be in "striking contrast to the proportions shown for the whole Negro population (of Columbus) in 1920 or earlier censuses." The census of 1920 disclosed that 35.1 per cent of the males and 19.5 of the females were single.[1] Epstein (1917) found that over 41 per cent of those whom he interviewed were single,[2] but this was a higher rate than that of the 1920 census, when 35.3 per cent of Negro males over 15 years of age were reported as single and 19.6 per cent of the Negro women. These rates seem fairly typical of Negro groups in the North, where the percentage of single males tends to be higher and the percentage of single females somewhat lower than in the South or for the Negro population in the country as a whole.

Table 16 presents a comparison of the per cent single among Negro males and females 15 years of age and over in the United States at large, in the four northern and the four southern states containing the largest Negro populations, and in the six northern cities with the greatest number of

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[1] Reference 81 (a), p. 39.

[2] Reference 32 (a), p. 19.

TABLE 16.—PER CENT SINGLE 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER AMONG NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES AT LARGE, IN CERTAIN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN STATES, AND IN SEVERAL NORTHERN CITIES, 1920

(Compiled from *Fourteenth Census,* 1920, vol. ii, ch. iv, tables 1, 21, 11 and 16.)

	Males	*Females*
Total Negro Population in U. S.	32.6	24.1
Total Negro Urban	33.3	22.8
Total Negro Rural	32.1	25.0

STATES

Northern	*Males*	*Females*	*Southern*	*Males*	*Females*
Pennsylvania	37.2	23.5	Georgia	29.9	23.2
New York	36.6	28.8	Mississippi	28.7	22.9
Ohio	36.2	18.9	Alabama	30.5	24.4
Illinois	34.1	18.3	South Carolina	32.4	28.1

NORTHERN CITIES

New York	36.0	29.0	St. Louis	34.7	19.4
Philadelphia	34.5	24.2	Detroit	38.3	14.5
Chicago	34.4	17.6	Pittsburgh	35.3	19.6

Negroes. The full extent of the discrepancies between the two sections is somewhat obscured by the fact that both New York and Pennsylvania contain an unusually high percentage of single Negro females; most of the other northern states with smaller colored populations tend to have lower rates of unmarried women, such as Wisconsin with 19.7 per cent, and Michigan with 15.2 per cent.

Since the northern colored population tends to concentrate in the principal cities of each state, the marital condition of Negroes in specific centers tends to follow that of their respective states. On the whole, the cities show a fairly uniform tendency for a high rate of single males, but greater variation in the percentage single among colored women. Such figures also show a distinct difference in the percentage single found among Negro men and that found among Negro women in the North. A greater preponderance of single males is, of course, to be expected under the circumstances, for unmarried men could more easily and quickly respond to sudden economic opportunities than could those having families. On the other hand, such wide discrepancies between the percentage single for males and females must be viewed with caution, for it is quite likely that many male migrants reported themselves as single after they had shaken off marital responsibilities by the simple process of migration, and unmarried mothers could easily report themselves as married, widowed or divorced.[1]

SEX

The sex distribution among Negroes also tends to vary in different sections of the North. In New York State in 1920 there were only 92.6 males to every 100 females, whereas in Pennsylvania the ratio is 108.8; in Ohio, 116.4; and in Michigan, 132.6. The colored population of the entire United States shows an excess of females, since there are only 99.2 males to every 100 females. In the South, such an excess of females is practically uniform; even the southern cities show a preponderance of women. On the other hand, the principal centers of the North show a general tend-

TABLE 17.—PROPORTION OF NEGRO MALES TO 100 NEGRO FEMALES IN CITIES OF NORTH AND SOUTH WITH LARGEST NEGRO POPULATIONS, 1920

(Compiled from *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, vol. ii, pp. 117 *et seq.*)

Northern Cities		*Southern Cities*	
New York City	90.3	Richmond	84.2
Philadelphia	100.1	Atlanta	85.8
St. Louis	102.5	New Orleans	86.9
Chicago	104.5	Memphis	89.7
Pittsburgh	111.8	Birmingham	94.7
Detroit	137.0	Norfolk	100.9

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[1] Reference 81 (a), p. 40.

ency for an abnormally large proportion of Negro men, so that there is a contrasting form of sex-ratio disturbance.

> Reports of surveys which have been made in specific northern cities and general discussions of the sex composition of northern Negroes all emphasize this disturbance of the sex ratio. In New York it occurs in the form of an excess of females but the Middle Western cities, such as Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Youngstown, Toledo, and Milwaukee, show a preponderance of males.[1] The Detroit Bureau stated that the disproportion was not so great in 1925 as it had been in 1920, when the men had come in large numbers to fill the vacant places in Detroit's industries; the disproportion was, however, still much greater among the Negroes than among any other population group.

Among students of this problem it was generally held that the nature of the economic opportunities open to the sexes greatly influenced the extent to which either males or females predominated. For instance, New York City, heterogeneous in the nature of its positions available for Negroes, exerted no such exclusive call for men as was the case in the Middle West, where the more specialized industries demanded large numbers of Negro males to perform the unskilled manual labor formerly done by European immigrants. Although this economic cause is usually given as the general explanation of this abnormal sex composition of northern Negroes, the subject has not yet received sufficient analysis and study to warrant any conclusive statement as to the real cause for this phenomenon. There is, however, little doubt that the northern industrial cities do not show an equal number of colored males and females, and, in general, throughout the cities of the North there tends to be an excess of males.

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[1] References 120 (a), p. 525; 57 (a), p. 718; 22 (a), sec. ii, pp. 7-8; 38 (a), pp. 26-9; 63 (a), p. 113.

An examination of the available material concerning the composition of Negro groups in the North reveals a fairly uniform picture of a preponderance of young adults and a comparatively small number of childen and old people, a disproportion of the sexes that in some cases results in a significant excess of men, and a slight tendency for an abnormally high rate of unmarried men, which would be the expected result of a preponderance of males. Hitherto, the surveys which have been made of particular groups have tended to give little detailed attention to this subject of the composition of the Negroes and most of our information has to be based on the 1920 census material. Hence it is impossible to tell as yet whether there has been a decrease in these abnormal conditions as the Negroes have had time to become better adjusted to their new environment. Further careful study along this line and the coming 1930 Census should provide valuable material for checking up the present assumptions concerning the composition of northern Negroes. All of these tendencies toward an abnormal composition are characteristic of a migrant group and should be mitigated as the migrants become adjusted and settle down in a more permanent home life. Since the sex, age and martial status of a group exerts a direct influence on such major social problems as the amount of crime, of immorality, and of instability of family life,[1] where there is a preponderance of single, young, adult males, all of these problems tend to increase. Consequently, the composition of Negro urban groups should receive careful consideration in studies of the social life of Negroes in the North.

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[1] References 157 (d), p. 34; 157 (c), pp. 152, 171, 149.

CHAPTER VIII

The Housing of Northern Negroes

Problems connected with the housing of Negroes in northern cities have been the subject of more investigation and discussion than has any other one phase of the social situation created by the influx of colored laborers from the South. Since the industrial centers had made no adequate provision for housing the newcomers, the sudden phenomenal increase of colored people tended throughout the North to create problems of congestion, attempted expansion of Negro residence sections and consequent race friction. Frequently these conditions became so acute as to demand recognition from the community, and the resulting discussions and surveys provide a vivid picture of the effect of Negro migration upon the housing situation.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

The most fundamental factor in the Negroes' housing troubles has been their segregation in certain sections of the cities. This concentration in particular districts is, of course, not a situation peculiar to the colored population, for many nationality groups tend to congregate in special areas, and every large city has its Jewish section, its Chinatown or its Italian quarter. In the case of the Negroes, however, the situation is more complex and serious because of the emotional tension involved and the race prejudice of the white people, who discourage attempts of the Negroes to expand or change their customary residential area. Nor is segregation a new phenomenon in the North, as for decades practically every northern city has exhibited to some extent a segregation of the colored residential sections from those of the whites. Although complete and exclusive segregation of Negroes into a district entirely colored was never prevalent, yet, as a general rule, most of the Negro inhabitants lived in a few sections of each city, the remainder being scattered in varying proportions among the white neighborhoods. Thus virtual segregation had been more or less quietly practiced for years, but with the arrival of hordes of Negroes from the South this whole question of segregation assumed new prominence and importance. In industrial centers which received a noticeable increase in the number of colored inhabitants, the migration tended to increase the amount of segregation and to build up more distinctly Negro communities within the cities.

The question of segregation has received consideration in many of the surveys of Negro communities which have been made since the first noticeable movement of colored laborers during the World War. These reports show practical unanimity in contending that there is residential segregation of Negroes in the North and that the migration has tended to increase the concentration of Negroes in certain districts. Segregation on particular streets exclusively or almost entirely inhabited by Negroes was uniformly present, and generally there were also larger, well-defined Negro districts.

> Although the Negroes of Washington, D. C.,[1] are not limited to a few clearly marked districts as is the case in many more northern cities, yet there is a general attitude which requires the residential separation of the two races. "Washington differs from most cities in that the Negro

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[1] This is really a border city but is treated here because of its peculiar interest.

population is not huddled into one specific geographical area. It is rather loosely and irregularly scattered throughout the various districts of the city. . . . Although there are many streets on which Negroes and white people are intermingled, they still maintain certain residential distances. In many instances, white people were found occupying one side of the street and colored people the other." [1] In Minneapolis and in Columbus, Ohio, the Negroes were scattered throughout the city, yet in spite of the fact that there was no exclusively colored section, they tended to cluster in certain areas.[2] Chicago and Detroit [3] were found to possess well defined Negro districts, which became more densely populated upon the arrival of migrants from the South. In Chicago " the large increase in Negro population did not bring into existence any new large colonies but resulted in the expansion and increased density of areas in which groups of Negroes already existed in 1910." [4] The survey made by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania found that " while residential segregation of the Negro does not exist in Pennsylvania by law, a very effective residential segregation of Negroes by force of public opinion occurs in many communities in the Commonwealth." [5] In Pittsburgh " before this great influx of Negroes from the South, the Negro population . . . lived in half a dozen sections of the city. Although not absolutely segregated, these districts were distinct. . . . The sections formerly designated as Negro quarters have been long since congested beyond capacity by the influx of newcomers, and a score of new colonies have sprung up in hollows and ravines, on hill-

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[1] See Bibliography, reference 63 (a), p. 148; also pp. 57-64, 83, 88-9.

[2] References 44 (b), p. 14; 81 (a), pp. 11-27.

[3] References 22 (a), sec. v; 46 (f), pp. 8-10.

[4] Reference 17 (a), pp. 106-7.

[5] Reference 110 (a), p. 31.

> slopes and along river banks, on railroad tracks and in mill yards."[1] In Philadelphia the migrants were practically forced to seek homes in the customary colored sections—"the housing problem was itself a result of the determination on the part of the white people that the migrant should live only in that part of the city in which Negroes had previously lived."[2] The report of conditions in Waterbury, Connecticut, states that: "As in practically every other city, the Negroes in Waterbury live in rather close contact. There are not exclusively Negro sections but what amounts practically to the same—there are sections in close proximity in which over 90 per cent of the Negro population lives. . . . The antagonistic sentiment of whites prevents them from moving outside of the narrow limits of a recognized 'Negro Area'."[3] This policy of residential restriction was not limited to these particular cities in which surveys were made. According to many students of conditions among northern Negroes, segregation was the typical situation throughout the urban North.[4]

Recent migrations have tended to increase residential separation of the two races both by enlarging the Negro group within the colored districts and, at the same time, by intensifying the opposition of white people whenever the Negroes attempted to enter new neighborhoods. Frequently the influx of migrants so crowded the former Negro sections that many of the colored people sought homes in other neighborhoods and thereby aroused the antipathy of white residents. As Burgess points out: "Every residential community offers resistance to the intrusion of a new group of imputed inferior status whether on the basis of race, economic standing, or cultural difference."[1] Resentment of Negro "invasion" of white districts was based on all three of these factors and the white people usually showed no desire to welcome the newcomers even when they represented the better class, for distinctions were seldom made on the basis of the type of colored people who were trying to buy or rent homes in decent surroundings. The opposition ranged all the way from chilly aloofness or the speedy withdrawal of the white residents from the neighborhood, to such violent measures as bombing the houses of the newcomers and other forms of intimidation. A common expression of dislike was informing colored applicants that the vacant houses were not for rent or sale, or of openly refusing to sell or rent if the prospective buyer or tenant showed traces of Negro blood. Another widespread method was that of getting property owners to sign an agreement or covenant not to sell or rent their property to Negroes for a definite period of time, unless all the signers agreed to the transaction. In some cities neighborhoods faced with an influx of Negroes also formed associations for the purpose of influencing owners and real estate agents against admitting colored people. The means used for securing adherents to the "cause" assumed such varied forms as personal interviews with white owners, publication of pamphlets asserting the menace of a Negro invasion and spreading propaganda which would inflame race prejudice, and the sending of letters threatening violence to white people who admitted Negroes, and to Negroes who attempted to enter the neighborhood.

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[1] Reference 32 (a), pp. 7, 16.

[2] Reference 93 (a), p. 177.

[3] Reference 57 (g), pp. 299-300.

[4] References 46 (h), p. 460; 57 (r), p. 140; 157 (d), ch. 3; 14 (a), pp. 105-15.

The situation in Washington, D. C., and that in Chicago typify the two extremes of the range of opposition faced by the Negroes when they attempted to enlarge their residence sections. "In Washington the 'covenant' seems to be the most widely employed method for keeping Negroes out of 'exclusively white' residential districts. . . . The Negro has encountered hostile attitudes on the part of white people, which have at times crystallized into corporate action against him. But it is interesting to note that in the majority of instances white people have given way to Negro invasions with little or no struggle to retain their homes. The conflicts have been more conspicuous than they have been frequent. At times, however, feeling has become very intense, but has not eventuated in programs of bombing or incendiarism."[1] The report of the Chicago Race Commission contains a careful analysis of the resentment shown by white groups in that city when Negroes settled in new neighborhoods and of the attempt to restrict the colored people to regions formerly occupied by the race. Particularly in the districts of Kenwood and Hyde Park the opposition was intense and violent. Real estate firms and white property owners organized to "keep these neighborhoods white" and spread much anti-Negro propaganda that tended to arouse intense racial feeling. Finally, in order to drive out the Negroes already in the neighborhoods and frighten away others, the white people resorted to bombing Negro homes and the property of real estate men who had sold or rented houses to Negroes.[2]

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[1] Reference 14 (a), p. 112.

Opposition to the expansion of Negro residence sections did not generally assume the violent form of bombing and incendiarism, but throughout the North there was widespread resentment among white groups whenever Negroes tried to settle in new neighborhoods. This antipathy tended to force the migrants to find shelter, if possible, in the former colored districts, which were thus more densely

[1] Reference 63 (a), pp. 70, 148.

[2] References 17 (a), pp. 114-36; *cf.* 53 (b), pp. 323-4; 93 (a), p. 177; 152 (b), pp. 125-29.

populated. Due to this increased concentration of Negroes in particular sections of the cities and to the augmented racial antagonism of the white people which resulted from the housing situation, residential separation of the two races has become a more distinct, noticeable and emotionally fraught situation in northern cities.[1]

This policy of residential segregation is usually justified on the ground that the coming of Negroes into a neighborhood brings about a depreciation in property values. In fact, the reason most frequently given by white people for their resentment over a prospective " Negro invasion " is that the exclusion of the colored man is necessary in order to keep up property values and realize anything on real estate investments. The process of Negro habitation of a neighborhood is typically summarized as follows: " When Negro families move in, the whites move out, property values fall, deterioration takes place, and more Negro families move in."[2] The full potentialities of such a belief began to be realized at the time of the housing troubles in Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, Cleveland and other northern cities. Then it became clear that this fear of economic loss tended to exert an important influence on the housing problems of industrial centers and upon the general status of race relations. Consequently, within the last decade some of the most important surveys of conditions among northern Negroes have made the beginnings of an attempt to discover the basis and justification for such a widespread opinion.

The reports of these surveys[3] are in practical agreement and show the complexity of the factors involved. Upon actual investigation it is found that Negroes tend to move into older, less desirable sections of a city where property values are already depreciating because of the encroachments of business places, garages, railroads, factories or immoral houses. With their low incomes, colored people as a rule find it impossible even to contemplate residence in the new, easily accessible and more desirable districts, and thus seek those neighborhoods where prices are lower. Since these sections are already on the downhill road due to natural and inevitable changes accompanying the expansion of the city, the coming of Negroes is not the sole source of property depreciation. An equally important factor in causing depreciation is the psychological reaction of white people when a Negro first appears in the neighborhood. Because of this current belief in the invariable accompaniment of lowered values and the presence of Negroes, a wave of hysteria tends to sweep over the neighborhood and many white people sell to the first bidder without regard for real property values. Such panics so frequently accompany the appearance of Negroes that shrewd realtors have been known to introduce a Negro family for the express purpose of cleaning up large profits on property deals.

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[1] *Cf.* references 119 (a), p. 219; 46 (h), p. 460; 156 (a), pp. 179-80; 57 (r), p. 140; 3 (a), p. 532; 65 (a), p. 94.

[2] Reference 119 (a), p. 219.

[3] References 22 (a), sec. v, pp. 25-32; 17 (a), pp. 194-211, 608; 63 (a), pp. 78-80, 65; 110 (a), pp. 39-40; 81 (a), pp. 27-9; 157 (d), pp. 74-5; 14 (a), pp. 113-4.

On the other hand, there are numerous cases of actual property appreciation. Particularly since the recent migrations, the Negroes have experienced serious difficulty in securing homes and the result has been keen competition for houses which were available. In such cases a Negro buyer or tenant is often willing to pay a higher price than will a white man and a cool-headed white owner can thus sell out at greater profit. According to the Pennsylvania survey "Rents and selling prices have always been raised when Negroes moved into the houses that formerly were occupied by whites. The increases have averaged all the way from 25 to 50 per cent." [1]

[1] Reference 110 (a), p. 40.

The whole situation has been well summarized by T. J. Woofter as a result of his survey of property values in various cities: "The areas that are usually penetrated by Negroes in their expansion are in neighborhoods that are already depreciating in value. . . . If one of these depreciating sections lies close to a Negro neighborhood, or if it has good transit service to places where Negroes work, the time finally comes when Negroes are willing to pay more for property there than the white occupants are, and the transition begins. It is a perfectly normal operation of real estate supply and demand."[1] The Chicago Race Commission has so far made the most careful study of the basis and result of this belief in property depreciation, and their report provides a possible summary of the findings of the other investigations. These latter were on a more limited scale but tended to agree with the Chicago Commission on aspects mutually covered. The Chicago report states that in some cases Negro occupancy has resulted in depreciation and deterioration; in other cases, there has been an actual appreciation. It was felt that, on the whole, depreciation did not so much result from colored habitation as that Negroes were impelled by their low economic standing to enter neighborhoods where the buildings had already deteriorated and property had depreciated because of years of occupancy by whites and because of the encroachments of vice, business and factories. Consequently, the Commission contends that it is unfair to hold the colored people entirely responsible for lowered property values, though it admits that "at present, the fact stands that Negro occupancy is an unmistakable symptom of depreciation." Like the Detroit Bureau, the Chicago Commission emphasizes the effect of the psychological factor: "The principal influence of Negroes upon property values in a neighborhood is psychological, due to the deep-seated and general prejudice of whites against Negroes,

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[1] Reference 157 (d), p. 74.

> which begets and sustains the belief that Negroes destroy property values wherever they go."[1]

Furthermore, this belief that Negro penetration of a white neighborhood lowers property values arouses an antagonism which spreads to all other relations and is used as an excuse and reason for any sort of unfriendliness and opposition to the Negroes.[2] With the coming of large numbers of Negroes from the South, this cause of racial antagonism was greatly augmented by the attempt of the colored people to find adequate housing. We do not yet have enough knowledge of the actual effect of Negro occupancy upon property values. Recent surveys have at least recognized the importance of this phase of racial relations and have begun a study of the factors involved. Further investigation is needed to discover what occurs in property values over a period of time sufficiently long to include years of both white and Negro occupancy. We also need more detailed studies of the psychological forces at work before we understand whether depreciation really does occur, and before we know what are the most effective ways of combating the hysterical fear and race prejudice which operate whenever Negroes move into new neighborhoods.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

This antipathy of white people to any attempted expansion of Negro districts was an important factor in producing the congestion which has been prevalent in northern cities. As hordes of migrants arrived from the South they tended to crowd into the "Negro areas" already established. To a great extent this was necessitated by the prejudice of white people which prevented their overflowing into new neighborhoods. At the same time, the fact must not be overlooked that the newcomers had a natural desire to live among their friends and members of their own race during the period of adjustment to a new social and economic environment. Thus the condition of acute overcrowding that resulted from the migration was both a natural and a forced phenomenon. The latter was, however, the most serious element, for as congestion increased in the old Negro districts, both new and former residents found it extremely difficult to obtain homes in new sections. As a result of these two factors, serious overcrowding and an increased density of inhabitants became a common condition in the Negro districts of northern cities. Students of Negro problems throughout the North and investigators of specific industrial centers have united in calling attention to the abnormal congestion found in Negro neighborhoods.[1] This condition was naturally prominent during the first months of the recent movements before the newcomers had been able to find permanent homes, but reports of overcrowding are not confined to the early years of the migration.

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[1] References 17 (a), pp. 205, 608; *cf.* 22 (a), sec. v, pp. 25-32.

[2] *Cf.* references 17 (a), p. 194; 22 (a), sec. v, pp. 25-7.

> Lack of uniformity in methods used by investigators of congestion, render it impossible to make any comparison of the degree of overcrowding existing in particular cities. Most of the surveys have merely commented upon a general situation of congestion, basing their conclusions on such factors as statistics of the increase of Negro population in the city and the numerical growth of particular districts, and on personal observations during house to house investigations. A few discussions and surveys have included estimations of room overcrowding or land crowd-

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[1] References 46 (f), p. 21; 46 (h), p. 460; 17 (a), p. 106; 93 (a), p. 175; 31 (a), p. 557; 145 (d), p. 148; 32 (a), pp. 11-8; 114 (a), p. 3.

Later surveys: references 14 (a), pp. 108-9; 157 (d), ch. 4; 110 (a), p. 31; 81 (a), pp. 51-3; 105 (a), Annual Report for 1923, pp. 19-21; 121 (a), p. 239.

ing, computing the number of persons per room or per acre. Considering any ratio greater than one person per room to signify a condition of overcrowding, Mark found that in Columbus, Ohio, one-third of the Negro households studied fell in that class.[1] In Cleveland it was found that the area which contained about 90 per cent of the colored people had a population density per acre of 35 or 40, whereas the density for the entire city[2] was only 21. According to E. W. Burgess,[3] in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, New York and Pittsburgh, the Negroes showed greater concentration of population than did any other racial group, and Woofter[4] concluded from his survey of several cities that "the density of Negro areas in most cities is much greater than the density of white areas. In some cities it is four times as great."

As a rule, general discussions and specific reports of housing conditions among northern Negroes have pointed out the serious overcrowding of Negro areas which followed the migration. There are, however, a few exceptions, since surveys in Buffalo, Minneapolis and Waterbury, Connecticut, found little or no evidence of overcrowding.[5]

Conflicting reports from Philadelphia suggest the need for more extensive investigation in that city but it seems evident that room crowding has not been so prevalent in the last few years as it was around 1917 and 1918.[6] In Chicago, too, the Race Commission reported a congested Negro neighborhood but, on the whole, less room crowding than prevailed among many foreign families.[7] How-

[1] Reference 81 (a), pp. 51-3.

[2] Reference 121 (a), p. 239.

[3] Reference 14 (a), pp. 108-9.

[4] Reference 157 (d), p. 78.

[5] References 16 (a), p. 175; 44 (b), p. 17; 57 (g), p. 301.

[6] References 46 (d), p. 71; 105 (b), p. 47; 80 (a), p. 11; 93 (a), pp. 175, 194-6, 205, 217.

[7] Reference 17 (a), pp. 106, 156-7.

ever, the present state of our information is not sufficient to warrant conclusions as to the relative amount of congestion in various cities or concerning the extent to which overcrowding is decreasing as Negroes become adjusted to their new environment.

In regard to the whole matter of overcrowding, it is well to bear in mind the fact that mere statistics concerning the number of persons per room or acre do not measure the fundamental significance of congestion.

> The seriousness of overcrowding depends largely on " the sex and age distribution of the members of a household and (on) the relationships which exist between them. In the household containing but one family, it can be readily seen that sex and age distribution play a large part in measuring the seriousness of congestion. Thus a six-person family consisting of father, mother and four children is less seriously affected by cramped quarters when the children are all below the adolescent age than after some of the children have reached their teens. Again, this family is less seriously affected if the children are all of one sex or are evenly divided as to sex than if an unequal division of the sexes necessitates either extreme congestion in one sleeping room or the sharing of a sleeping room by persons of opposite sex.
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> " These complications are of minor importance when compared with the situation in some of these Negro households, where cramped quarters are shared by two or more families, or by a family and a number of unattached persons with only an economic relation to the family. The annoyances, sacrifices and dangers, physical and moral, involved in a large household of this type cannot be shown by numbers or ratios. They can be imagined only by comparing the condition of one's own life with the conditions which must surround an individual who is sharing four

> rooms with five or more persons of varying age, sex, personal standards and relationships."[1]

In many cities at the beginning of the migration the demand for houses could not possibly be met, particularly as little building was carried on during the war. When the migrants were, therefore, crowded into houses and rooms already occupied by Negro families, the poorly built and frequently dilapidated quarters were taxed beyond the limit and in many sections housing conditions among the Negroes became deplorable. The story is much the same no matter from what part of the North it comes, although here and there an investigator reports that the situation is above the average.

The housing problem was particularly acute during the early months of the movement and in the cities nearest the South which received the first onslaught. Many of the earliest migrants were brought North by the railroads and were housed in camps. Some of these consisted of temporary sheds with large bunk rooms, mess room and sometimes a rest room; others were simply rows of box cars, tents or old two-story houses which had been converted into dormitories. In some cases the camps were well kept; in many, however, there were no adequate sanitary provisions, and the sleeping quarters were filthy and lacking in ventilation, with serious congestion. In one of the better camps, for instance, which was investigated during the Department of Labor survey, a space 20 by 40 feet was filled with 30 cots and there were but three windows. In one of the worst camps visited the rough shacks housed about 400 Negroes who slept in wooden bunks piled close together in tiers of three or four.[2]

[1] Reference 81 (a), p. 54.

[2] References 145 (d), pp. 145, 148; *cf.* 106 (a).

These railroad camps had no monopoly on congestion and unsanitary living quarters, however. Throughout the industrial centers of the North the majority of Negro homes are located in sections where transportation facilities are inadequate, or in areas where the expansion of business houses, railroads and factories has rendered the district undesirable for residential purposes, or else in old sections where the paving, lighting, street cleaning and sanitary regulations are neglected. Frequently, the colored people have fallen heir to old, one-family houses which in early days had belonged to the wealthy society folk of the town. These have presumably been turned into apartments for several families, but provisions for sanitation and privacy are usually totally inadequate. As a rule, the percentage of Negro houses without modern conveniences of electricity, hot and cold water, bathrooms, inside toilets, furnaces, etc., is far higher than the same percentage among white families. Many of the houses are in poor condition and the Negro tenants find it extremely difficult to secure necessary repairs from landlords who are loath to spend good money on worn-out buildings. There are, of course, many Negro families living in modern, comfortable homes but their proportion is far less than the proportion of decently housed families among white people.

> Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are two of the cities which have faced serious housing problems. In Mossell's study (1919) of migrant families in Philadelphia,[1] she found that with only four exceptions the houses investigated were in exceedingly poor physical condition, particularly those single-family houses which had been sublet to various roomers or several families. In such cases, the premises were usually uncared for, the houses were sadly in need of repair, the rooms had not been rebuilt to accommodate

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[1] References 93 (a), pp. 175, 194-6, 205, 217; *cf.* 105 (b), pp. 46-7.

the added number of families so that bedrooms were doing double duty as kitchens and sleeping quarters, and the lack of privacy and sanitation was appalling. In some instances ten families were crowded into one three-story house, all using the same bath and toilet. Not only were whole families living in one and two rooms, but there was an accompanying overcrowding of single rooms, sometimes four or more persons occupying the same room. Often every room in the house was turned into a bedroom or apartment and even cellars and attics were called into use. Such conditions in Philadelphia were not simply the temporary result of the migration but persisted after the first influx. Haynes remarks in 1924: " The Philadelphia Housing Association found in a recent survey that only 10.5 per cent of the houses occupied by Negro families were equipped for sanitation, conveniences and comfort, while 28.6 of the houses occupied by whites were so equipped."[1]

Epstein's vivid description of the deplorable conditions in Pittsburgh (1917) is frequently quoted in discussions of the entrance of southern Negroes into Pittsburgh industries. So great was the influx that every available space in the Negro districts was requisitioned to shelter the migrants. " Attics and cellars, store rooms and basements, churches, sheds and warehouses had to be employed for the accommodation of these newcomers. Whenever a Negro had space which he could possibly spare, it was converted into a sleeping place; as many beds as possible were crowded into it, and the maximum number of men per bed were lodged." At times beds were made to do double duty, night workers using them during the day while the other occupants were employed. The lack of ventilation and sanitation was strikingly apparent; Epstein notes some rooms with more than six people sleeping in them at one time and with practically no openings for light or air. Moreover, many of the migrants were forced

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[1] Reference 46 (d), p. 71.

> to find shelter in old dilapidated buildings that had been abandoned by the white people and in many cases, that had been previously condemned by the City Bureau of Sanitation.[1]
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> Similar situations were reported throughout Pennsylvania and in many cities which have been subjected to detailed investigations. In one Negro district of Cincinnati, for example, it was found that 54 per cent of the houses were without bathrooms and 85 per cent were fire traps.[2] In Chicago, the Race Commission discovered that the majority of Negro families were living in poor houses which often lacked those ordinary conveniences of bathrooms, furnaces, gas and electricity, considered necessities by most white people. For the most part they were living in old houses which were deteriorating rapidly because the owners refused to make the necessary repairs. Furthermore, the Negro districts were frequently inferior with respect to the cleanliness of the streets and condition of the walks and pavements because the city paid less attention to civic improvements in colored sections. The Commission points out the difficulty of maintaining standards of sanitation and cleanliness under such handicaps and concludes that " None of the houses occupied by Negroes are of as high a standard, generally speaking, as those occupied by whites of a similar economic status." [3]

On the other hand, there are a few instances of northern cities which report that housing conditions among Negroes are not seriously inadequate. Since the standards and methods used in various housing investigations are not uniform, it is impossible to conclude exactly to what extent the housing of Negroes in these localities is an improvement over that of other urban centers. However, Baltimore, Buffalo and Minneapolis were found to lack the serious housing conditions of most northern cities.

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[1] Reference 32 (a), pp. 8, 11-8.

[2] Reference 120 (a), p. 526.

[3] References 17 (a), pp. 194, 152-94, 93, 113. *Cf.* 124 (a), pp. 141-2, 121; 145 (c), p. 89; 109 (a), p. 571; 46 (d), p. 71; 22 (a), sec. v; 145 (d), p. 149; 2 (a), pp. 7-9; 81 (a), pp. 46-63; 63 (a), pp. 91-110; 110 (a), pp. 31-6; 57 (g), p. 301.

> Baltimore was reported as having no acute housing problem or the lack of homes which was so evident in other cities.[1] Carpenter concluded that conditions in Buffalo were not bad, but another report in Buffalo stated that about 75 per cent of the colored families lived in a section of the city that contained the poorest houses. It would seem, therefore, that the general status of Negro homes was below that of other groups.[2] Conditions in Minneapolis were also reported as being more satisfactory, for there was no crowding, 97 per cent of the homes investigated had water, 90 per cent had sewer connections, 95 per cent had gas and 74 per cent had electricity.[3]

The housing situation in northern cities has been well summarized by Haynes and by Reuter.[4] Haynes concludes: "In New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities, while there are many good houses, the majority of the people are overcrowded in houses lacking in facilities for sanitation, convenience and comfort." Reuter says: "The Negro population is generally concentrated in one of a few neglected and undesirable districts to which they have been attracted because of the relatively cheap rents or into which they have been forced by the difficulty of securing living quarters in the better residential areas. The buildings are generally old and frequently dilapidated, the surroundings usually neglected, the sanitation poor, and the health regulations not enforced. Even in the better class of houses occupied by laboring classes the ordinary conveniences are often lacking; the heating is usually from wood or coal stoves, the lighting is commonly by gas or by oil lamps, and bathrooms are unusual."

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[1] Reference 100 (a), p. 898.

[2] References 16 (a), p. 179; 46 (d), p. 71.

[3] Reference 44 (b), p. 17.

[4] References 46 (d), p. 71; 119 (a), p. 219.

From a comparison of these various surveys it would seem that Reuter's statement is a fair description of the general housing situation among the Negroes in northern cities. A few cities such as Buffalo and Minneapolis show a better average but in most of the urban centers the Negroes are faced with a real housing problem which affects their family life, standards of decency and morality, and their tendency to lawlessness and crime.

RENTS

The serious housing shortage which prevailed in nearly all northern cities as soon as the migrants began to arrive in large numbers naturally resulted in high rents for the rooms and dwellings that were available. As a general rule throughout the North the congestion, the limitation of the colored residential area, and the lack of houses tended to compel Negroes (1) to pay excessive rents considering the accommodations they secured, frequently higher than white people paid for similar living quarters; and (2) to spend an abnormally large amount of their income for rent. The problem of increasing rents has also faced the Negroes who have come to northern industrial centers. In many of the largest places rents advanced throughout the city during and after the war, but in most cases these increases were excessively high for colored tenants.

> A comparison of actual investigations which have been made of this subject in recent years substantiates the contention of general students of Negro problems that rentals are disproportionately high for colored families.[1] The re-

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[1] References 157 (d), ch. 7; 93 (a), pp. 194-7; 105 (b), p. 47; 32 (a), pp. 13, 17; 114 (a), p. 3; 100 (a), p. 898; 57 (r), p. 140; 124 (a), pp. 140,

port of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania gives a typical picture of the situation throughout the northern states, where the mass of Negroes are concentrated in the leading cities. Conditions reported as existing in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are similar to those found in such important centers as Cleveland, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford and Gary. "The unskilled workingman who constitutes the mass Negro pays more for his housing in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh than does the white man. This is due, of course, to the fact that landlords take advantage of the great pressure on Negro housing resulting from the large number of Negroes in the two cities. In the rest of the Commonwealth the rentals are either the same for white and Negro workingmen of the same financial condition or slightly higher for the whites. This is due to the fact that there is not quite the pressure in the rest of the Commonwealth for Negro housing as in the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. However, since over 60 per cent of the Negroes in Pennsylvania live in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, a proper weighing of the figures shows the average rent for the Commonwealth. The mere fact that Negroes in a few rural districts pay a smaller rent than whites does not change the fact that the great mass of Negroes in the State are paying a much higher rental. The real injustice to Negroes in the matter of rents is in the quality of the housing that the Negro gets for the rents he pays. The Negro who pays the same rent as the white man, or even the Negro who pays more rent than the white, gets much inferior housing for his money."[1]

The most striking exception to the general report of high rentals is found in the border city of Washington, D. C.

142, 105; 145 (c), p. 89; 145 (d), p. 149; 17 (a), pp. 93, 162, 199; 22 (a), sec. v, pp. 1, 8; 46 (f), p. 26; 150 (d), p. 334; 110 (a), pp. 36-7, 41; 81 (a), pp. 47-56; 105 (a), Annual Report for 1922, p. 16, for 1923, pp. 24-5, 29, for 1927, p. 27; 57 (g), pp. 300-1.

[1] Reference 110 (a), pp. 36-7.

> As a result of the housing investigation in that city, the conclusion was drawn that: "The question as to whether Negroes in Washington are forced to pay exorbitant rents for the houses which they occupy is one which—in the light of the facts brought out in this survey—must be answered in the negative. There were very few cases which showed that rents were outrageously high. . . . Rather . . . Negroes in Washington pay very normal rentals for their homes. In many cases it was found that the families were having difficulty in raising the money with which to pay their rents, but this was not due to the fact that they were being overcharged as much as it was to the fact that they were financially incapable of providing the price of normal rentals. There were found, however, several instances in which excessive increases accompanied trivial and inexpensive repairs. . . . Many small houses which had been allowed by their owners to become dilapidated and insanitary were exacting as much rental as they would merit only when in good repair." [1]

Even in cities such as Washington where rentals were reported as normal, the colored people evidently pay a "normal" rent for exceedingly poor dwellings. Among most of the students of Negro housing in the North there seems to be a practically unanimous opinion that Negroes are charged high rents and that rent occupies a central place in their expenses, particularly in view of their meager incomes and inadequate houses. "These rents are excessive whether they are measured by the kind of house and equipment, by the relation of rents paid by Negroes and those paid by white people for similar quarters, by the steady increase in rents, by the relation of rent to the value of the property, or by the proportion which rent forms of the family budget." [2]

[1] Reference 63 (a), pp. 131, 133.

[2] Reference 157 (d), p. 121.

LODGERS

Among many of the colored families the combination of these high rents and low wages has necessitated the taking in of lodgers in order to meet expenses. Consequently, the "lodger problem" is conspicuous in many of the urban groups of Negroes. In order to meet the rent or the monthly installments, if the home was being purchased, the colored family added a few lodgers. Moreover, in order to supplement the family income, families in smaller dwellings frequently rented space they could ill afford to spare. Then too, the shortage of rooms and houses was so acute in many cases that colored families felt obliged to shelter newcomers, especially if they were friends or relations who had come North at the solicitation of people already there. In the more specialized industrial centers, such as Detroit, a further important cause of this situation was the presence of large numbers of unattached men who had come to take advantage of the industrial openings and for whom no housing provisions had been made.

This practice of including adult persons who are outside the family group is at all times and everywhere a potential menace to a desirable family life. In small dwellings it prevents any family privacy and weakens the integration and cohesion of the family. Even in large dwellings the situation is fraught with danger and is conducive to immorality and family disorganization, since the houses available for colored habitants are usually not easily adjusted to the presence of outsiders. It is often necessary for the lodgers to come and go, and to live in the midst of the family group, and frequently to share a bedroom with some member of the family. This is particularly undesirable where there are children or young adults of the opposite sex, as the consequent lack of privacy often leads to weakened family discipline or even to vice and immorality. It is true that the lodgers were frequently relatives and friends but even in such cases the resulting situation was likely to be detrimental to the welfare of the children. The Chicago Race Commission, which made one of the most careful investigations of the "lodger problem", found that, fortunately, the proportion of children was smallest in those sections where the percentage of lodgers was largest. However, the children who were placed in such family situations were subjected to most unwholesome surroundings.

Several investigations have attempted to discover to what extent this practice of taking in lodgers prevails among northern Negroes and what are likely to be its causes and consequences. Reports of the situation in such industrial centers as Chicago, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Gary and Pittsburgh, show that from one-fourth to over one-half of the Negro families studied included lodgers, with an average for the North of about 35 per cent.[1] The reports almost unanimously agreed that the principal causes for the situation were the scarcity of houses available for Negroes and the high prices charged for those that could be rented or purchased. They further agreed in pointing out the dangers to normal family life which were inherent in this custom of taking lodgers.

As in the case of disproportionate rents, the city of Washington, D. C., provides the chief exception to a situation which seems to prevail throughout the North. According to the Washington survey a comparatively small proportion of homes were keeping lodgers—only 19 per cent. Furthermore, high rents were not given as the chief reason for having lodgers. This is not surprising since rents in Washington are apparently more normal than in most northern cities and since the increase in population was considerably less. The report concludes that "in a large

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[1] References 17 (a), pp. 155-65; 22 (a), sec. v, pp. 5-6, 8-10; 157 (d), pp. 86-8; 110 (a), p. 39.

> number of the homes where lodgers are kept it is not the result of the necessity of money in addition to the regular family income to meet extremely high rents, but, usually, the attempt to get further ahead financially. The lodger problem expresses more of the desire to enjoy extravagances than it does the necessity of raising money for rent and living expenses, or for payment on homes." However, the report also states that the scarcity of houses available in Washington has induced many Negroes to buy their own homes "and many who do not have incomes sufficient to purchase homes are forced to take lodgers in order to make a success of their financial undertakings."[1] It would seem, then, that even in Washington there is a relation between economic necessity and the practice of taking in lodgers.

From the material available it is apparent that the " lodger problem " is chiefly due to conditions following the migration of numbers of colored laborers from the South. (Woofter, for instance, contrasts the high percentage of lodgers in northern cities containing many migrants with the low percentage in more static southern towns.)[2] The consequent housing shortage and the inability to spread out into new neighborhoods created a demand for rooms. Colored families who had dwellings, partially satisfied this demand by taking in lodgers, being influenced to do so either by their gregariousness and hospitality or by a situation of low incomes and high rents that made lodgers an irresistible solution to the pressing economic problem.

HOME OWNERSHIP

The scarcity of houses, high rents and congestion which followed the migration not only strengthened this practice of taking in lodgers but at the same time tended to increase the amount of home ownership among Negroes in northern cities. A much larger proportion of Negroes owned homes in 1920 than in 1910, and the few surveys which have been made of this situation since 1920 report an even greater tendency toward ownership.[1] Higher wages during war times made it easier for Negroes to purchase homes, and the prevailing inadequate supply of houses frequently necessitated buying in order to secure shelter. In several northern industrial centers the influx of colored laborers has resulted in the opening up of new real estate divisions in the districts where Negroes can purchase.

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[1] Reference 63 (a), p. 112.

[2] Reference 157 (d), p. 86.

> Woofter and the Chicago Race Commission both found that the migration and consequent scarcity of houses and high rents had led to a marked increase in home ownership among Negroes in the North. Woofter believes that "since 1920 home ownership among Negroes in northern cities has about doubled" and gives instances of an increasing tendency to buy in New York City, Chicago and Philadelphia.[2] Moreover, there are indications that this is only one phase of a noticeable progress of the Negroes in saving money, opening bank accounts and developing thrift in general.[3]

Ever since 1916 at least, books, magazines and newspapers have contained frequent references to the housing problems found by Negroes in the North. Sensing the seriousness of the situation, individuals and commissions have investigated the housing of colored groups in specific industrial centers. When these surveys are synchronized and compared, and are checked up with general opinions expressed by leading students of racial problems, it is apparent that difficulty in securing adequate homes, or any shelter at all, is a fairly uniform problem for Negroes throughout the North, though its seriousness varies from city to city.

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[1] References 157 (d), pp. 106-8, 136-43; 17 (a), pp. 216-20; 46 (d), p. 71; 63 (a), ch. 6; 110 (a), p. 38; 2 (a), p. 7; 22 (a), sec. v. p. 18; 151 (a), p. 294.

[2] Reference 157 (d), p. 138.

[3] References 17 (a), pp. 227-30; 32 (a), p. 24; 151 (a), p. 294; 22 (a), sec. iv.

In many of its phases the situation is no different from those housing problems faced by any nationality group which has migrated in large numbers to one of our big cities. On the other hand, the Negroes' difficulties are intensified by the race feeling involved, for more emotional tension is apparently aroused when colored people seek homes in a neighborhood hitherto unoccupied by their group than when such foreign groups as Italians or Russians begin to "invade" a new district. This race prejudice of white people was particularly aroused when the arrival of thousands of colored laborers made the presence of Negroes in northern cities more noticeable and their contacts with the white inhabitants more frequent and intimate. As a result, much antagonism was expressed when Negroes began to seek homes in white neighborhoods, and in practically all parts of the North there was an increased attempt to draw lines of residential segregation. The degree of opposition aroused and the manner of its expression were not uniform among the centers which received large numbers of Negro migrants, being much more overt and violent in Chicago and Detroit, for example, than in New York City. So far no attempt has been made to study conditions in various cities for the purpose of discovering why some cities were faced with bombings, incendiarism or avalanches of propaganda inflaming race prejudice, while other cities sought to restrict Negro residence largely by increasing prices and refusing to sell or rent. The reason usually given everywhere for antagonism to an influx of Negroes was the belief that property values depreciated as soon as Negroes moved into the neighborhood. The few investigations which have been made of this subject point out the numerous factors which cause depreciation of values and refuse to hold the Negroes even largely responsible.

The practically uniform attempt to restrict the rapidly growing Negro population to former "Negro areas" as a rule led to serious problems of congestion and unsanitary housing conditions. Here and there, however, there seemed to be less crowding and a better type of housing than prevailed in most of the northern cities. In many centers there is a tendency, now, toward less congestion and a less serious scarcity of houses. Apparently Negroes are becoming better adjusted to the urban environment of the North, but even in cities which reported less congestion than prevailed around 1916-1918, the colored people are still crowded into undesirable sections. Inadequate, and often deplorable housing, high rents and an abnormally large number of families with lodgers are found to be fairly uniform factors in the housing situation among northern Negroes.

CHAPTER IX

VITAL STATISTICS AND HEALTH

THE belief has been commonly held among white people that Negroes as a group cannot survive in a northern climate. Whenever colored people have moved in large numbers to northern cities, comments have been freely made concerning the deteriorating effects of such a migration upon the health and rate of increase of the Negro race. Pointing out the low birth rate and high death rate of northern Negroes and the tendency to disease, numerous writers have contended that Negroes are inherently unfitted for a northern environment and cannot maintain their numbers save by continued recruitment from the South. Such comments and discussions were especially rife during the war period, when Negro laborers were swarming into northern cities. The subject is naturally of prime importance to the Negroes, since there will be a steadily decreasing colored population in the United States if the northern group cannot maintain itself and must be constantly replenished by southern Negroes.

Among all people the birth rate of those living in cities is lower than that of the same population group living in rural districts; the Negroes have been no exception and their birth rate in both southern and northern cities has been less than that of rural colored people. During past decades there has also been a tendency for the birth rates of Negroes in northern cities to be lower than those of white people. At times, too, the Negro birth rates have been lower than their death rates in the North, so that any decided increase of northern Negro groups has been due to migration from the

South. For the years immediately following the first mass influx of colored migrants, comparison of Negro birth and death rates in northern industrial centers would seem to justify the contention that the colored population could not be self-sustaining in the North. When the migrants arrived, there was a great deal of sickness and a startling number of deaths in some cities, for the process of adaptation to a different climate and the crowded, unsanitary dwellings of many of the newcomers exacted an enormous toll of lives. The death rate was high and the birth rate was low. Between 1915 and 1925 in most northern cities the number of Negro deaths tended to exceed the number of Negro births. The mortality rate was naturally high during the period of adjustment to a new environment. At the same time, the birth rate felt the disturbing effects of migration, which tends to upset the ratio between the sexes, thus decreasing the marriage rate. It also tends to raise the standard of living, with consequent postponement of marriage, and smaller families.[1]

It is a natural assumption that the death rate should decline and the birth rate increase among northern Negroes as the years pass. Presumably, the gradual adaptation to a northern climate and social environment would lower the mortality rate, while the birth rate should show a trend in the upward direction as newcomers send for their families and as women, in their turn, begin to move North, thus lessening the disproportion between the sexes. In many northern cities this assumption is supported by the facts disclosed in recent surveys, but in other centers the death rate has constantly fluctuated with little real decrease since 1919 and 1920. Compared with the death rate for northern Negroes in 1910 and for the high water marks of 1917 and 1918, the reports since 1920 show a trend toward improvement in Negro mortality throughout the North but, at the same time, there are numerous indications that many cities have witnessed an increase in Negro deaths over the rate which prevailed in 1919 to 1921, so that the mortality rates seem to be rising again.[1]

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[1] See Bibliography, references 44 (b), pp. 43-4; 32 (a), pp. 58-9; 16 (a), p. 179; 145 (d), p. 144; 157 (d), pp. 33-5; 157 (a), pp. 41, 52-3; 38 (a), pp. 27-8; 26 (e), p. 44; 49 (a), p. 559; 2 (a), p. 9; 22 (a), sec. vi, pp. 1-3; 146 (a), pp. 16-8.

TABLE 18.—NEGRO DEATHS PER 1,000 POPULATION IN NORTHERN CITIES HAVING 25,000 OR MORE NEGROES IN 1920

(Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Rates 1910-1920*, and subsequent annual volumes.)

Year	*Chicago*	*New York**	*Philadelphia*	*Cincinnati*	*Cleveland †*	*Detroit †*	*Pittsburgh*	*Indianapolis*	*St. Louis*	*Kansas City, Mo.*
1910....	23.3	23.8	26.6	28.6	...	...	23.3	24.8	25.6	27.2
1915....	15.8	18.9	20.2	25.3	...	...	16.4	19.5	20.7	25.9
1916....	15.1	18.2	20.2	26.4	...	...	20.7	21.9	21.6	25.6
1917....	20.0	18.9	25.7	31.6	...	...	25.8	22.8	25.7	27.3
1918....	24.1	24.7	32.2	35.2	...	...	33.9	24.5	30.1	31.1
1919....	18.1	19.3	19.9	24.1	...	...	19.1	18.5	19.7	22.7
1920....	19.8	19.2	21.2	24.1	21.3	23.9	22.3	20.9	19.9	24.9
1921....	17.2	17.3	17.4	23.7	17.5	17.6	20.3	16.5	17.5	23.8
1922....	17.1	18.1	19.1	23.9	17.8	21.1	20.2	18.1	17.8	24.0
1923....	23.2	18.7	22.1	27.9	21.6	not given	25.6	19.7	21.4	23.9
1924....	24.2	26.3	22.0	26.7	24.3	19.2	28.7	19.0	23.3	24.4
1925....	24.3	30.5	22.5	27.2	23.8	19.7	23.7	18.9	22.8	26.0
1926....	23.5	35.0	23.8	28.4	25.6	21.2	21.1	18.7	22.5	25.2

* New York figures are for Manhattan only, since the Negroes are concentrated in that borough.

† No published separation of colored and white deaths until 1920.

Several surveys of specific sections of the North have revealed an increasing birth rate and a decreasing death rate, although the latter is still higher among Negroes than among white people. Certain industrial centers such as New York, Detroit, Toledo, Cincinnati and Cleveland were at times reported as having a Negro death rate lower than that which prevailed at the beginning of the migration.[1] This is usually true only of reports of conditions prior to 1922 and on the basis of official mortality statistics would not be justified in New York, Cincinnati and Cleveland, for example, if such reports were made for the years 1924 to 1926. However, a discussion of birth rates among northern Negroes for 1924 and 1925 concludes that the leading northern states in those years showed more births than deaths among Negroes, although in 1915 all these states, except Massachusetts, had shown an excess of deaths over births.[2]

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[1] The estimates of population on which rates for the later years are based are probably highly inaccurate due to differential migration.

In Pennsylvania, "the Negro death rate for the State for 1924 was found to be 20.83 per thousand, and the white death rate for the same districts was found to be 14.13. These figures mean that approximately twenty-one Negroes and fourteen white persons died out of every thousand for the same period." This excess of 6.7 in the Negro over the white death rate was shown to be an improvement over the situation a decade earlier when the Negro death rate exceeded that of the whites by 9.5. The darker side of the picture is found, however, in the statement that "in 1919 only 14.3 out of every thousand Negroes died in the districts of Pennsylvania for which we were able to get vital statistics. (This included almost 90 per cent of the Negro inhabitants of Pennsylvania.) This was two per thousand more than the death rate for whites in the same districts, but in 1923 the number of Negro deaths had increased to 19.9 per thousand, while the death rate of the whites remained 12.4. . . . In 1924 the Negro death rate had increased to 20.8 per thousand. . . . In Philadelphia, where in 1921 there were only three more deaths per thousand among Negroes than among whites, in 1924

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[1] References 62 (e), pp. 69-70; 46 (d), p. 70; 121 (a), p. 241; 22 (a), sec. vi.

[2] References 49 (a), p. 559. *Cf.* 26 (e), p. 44.

> there were eight more deaths per thousand."[1] It would seem, therefore, that in Pennsylvania the death rate for Negroes has diminished since 1910-1915 but has shown an upward tendency in the last decade. The findings of the Pennsylvania survey agree with the conclusions derived by Dublin from his intensive study of Negro death rates and life expectancy among colored policy holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Since most of these policy holders are urban dwellers and many of them are in northern cities, his report may be taken as indicative of the trend of death rates among Negroes in northern cities. The Metropolitan rates are more reliable than those of the Census Bureau, since the former are based on known populations, while the latter use population estimates. From the cases which he covered, Dublin found that between 1911 and 1927 the death rate of Negro policy holders, in general, had declined from 17.5 per 1,000 to 14.0 and that the life span had increased. On the other hand, he found that there had been significant increases in mortality in the years preceding 1926, particularly in several northern cities, and believed that these higher rates are due, in part at least, to migration of Negroes to these industrial centers. In commenting upon the increase in mortality rates between 1921 and 1926, he maintains: "There is every reason to believe that when the figures for the general colored population are available, they will show the same drift" as the result of this movement from rural to urban centers and from the South to the North.[2]

The extent to which the mortality rate among Negroes has declined in northern cities varies considerably from city to city. The actual variations are shown in Table 18.

The influx of southern Negroes resulted in a great deal of sickness among the colored people in all urban centers, and vastly increased the health problems of the cities to which they migrated. Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland, for example, were confronted with epidemics of smallpox which were directly traceable to the southern Negroes and which compelled extensive vaccination and quarantine throughout the cities. Infant mortality, tuberculosis, pneumonia, heart and venereal diseases were increased and constituted serious problems, as in all these illnesses the Negroes tended to show higher rates of morbidity and mortality than did the white group.[1]

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[1] Reference 110 (a), pp. 44-5, 33-4.

[2] References 26 (e), pp. 43-4; 26 (a); 26 (b), p. 234; 26 (d), pp. 77-82; 26 (f), p. 7.

TABLE 19.—MORTALITY RATES * PER 100,000 POPULATION BY COLOR AND CHIEF CAUSES, 1920

FOR NORTHERN CITIES WITH 25,000 OR MORE NEGROES IN 1920

(Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Rates 1910-1920*, pp. 258 *et seq.*)

	Pneumonia		*Tuberculosis*		*Heart*	
	White	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*
Chicago	152.3	349.3	77.4	266.5	154.9	238.9
New York	177.7	409.6	105.6	327.2	167.9	167.3
Philadelphia	175.4	393.0	105.3	316.3	181.9	183.8
Cincinnati	111.5	369.1	116.3	424.6	190.7	245.0
Cleveland	144.4	348.8	82.6	362.4	101.1	152.1
Detroit	208.2	776.0	78.4	232.6	106.6	232.6
Pittsburgh	322.8	604.5	86.9	255.8	128.0	186.0
Indianapolis	157.8	344.2	83.9	315.9	163.2	225.7
St. Louis	193.0	399.4	70.0	259.7	149.6	229.0
Kansas City, Mo.	225.2	457.4	72.0	371.0	145.4	339.0

* Rates adjusted for age and sex might show materially less discrepancy between the races.

The addition of large numbers of Negroes, who showed a marked tendency to such an infectious disease as tuberculosis, was of serious import to every city within which they settled.

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[1] References 145 (d), pp. 143-4; 22 (a), sec. vi; 121 (a), pp. 241-2; 110 (a), pp. 46-7; 44 (b), pp. 46-51.

The health situation among one population group is not limited in its effects to that group but influences the health of the whole city. Through contacts in transportation, at work, and in public places, the entire population is brought in touch with those who are below standard in their general physical condition; and the city must perforce take into account the health of Negroes whether or not it desires to do so. The situation in every northern city is, to some extent at least, similar to that in Cleveland: "The effect of the Negro migration has been to bring into Cleveland a 360 per cent increase in a population group which, both before and after the migration, shows mortality rates from tuberculosis over 300 per cent greater than similar rates among the entire population. . . . The same increase of health hazards for the entire community arises in connection with any other communicable disease which has a greater incidence among the migratory group."[1] Furthermore, the southern Negro's general ignorance of the laws of health, of means of preventing illness and of the necessity of quarantine, all added to the problems which confronted the cities when migrants arrived. Table 20 indicates some of the conspicuous increases in health problems faced by those northern cities which were the centers of this influx of colored laborers during the early years of the war-time migration.

> Those surveys of specific northern cities which have considered the health problem of the Negroes, unite in stressing the seriousness of the situation. The Detroit Bureau called attention to the high rate of tuberculosis among the Negroes and to the fact that this disease was increasing among the colored group, although decreasing among the whites.[2] In Minneapolis, the Negro tuberculosis death rate

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[1] Reference 121 (a), pp. 240-2.

[2] Reference 22 (a), sec. vi, p. 3.

TABLE 20.—DEATH RATES AMONG NEGROES PER 100,000 POPULATION FOR YEARS OF MIGRATION AND FOR CHIEF CAUSES, 1920

IN NORTHERN CITIES HAVING 100,000 NEGRO POPULATION OR MORE IN 1920

(Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Rates 1910-1920,* pp. 258 *et seq.*)

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Chicago						
Pneumonia	222.4	191.7	366.5	518.0	263.0	349.3
Tuberculosis	331.1	287.6	335.1	357.7	334.5	266.5
Influenza	7.3	15.8	10.5	209.2	66.9	144.0
New York						
Pneumonia	327.9	287.1	365.7	733.1	335.6	409.6
Tuberculosis	435.9	389.3	387.8	409.6	399.1	327.2
Influenza	11.4	16.7	10.4	188.2	67.4	43.9
Philadelphia						
Pneumonia	263.2	259.4	484.8	800.8	320.2	393.0
Tuberculosis	390.4	389.5	415.5	455.9	347.3	316.3
Influenza	24.9	26.4	22.8	341.7	51.9	74.5

was many times that of the total population and the infant mortality rate far exceeded that of the white group.[1] In Cleveland there had been a marked increase in diseases which are prevalent among infants and young adults.[2] The survey of Negroes in Pennsylvania concluded: "As compared with whites, deaths among Negroes are relatively more numerous for pneumonia, tuberculosis of the lungs, heart disease, syphilis and cerebral hemorrhage. . . . Syphilis is most prevalent in the congested industrial centers and the large cities. Philadelphia shows the highest rate, 78.6 deaths per 100,000 Negroes. This is an increase of 527 per cent over the death rate of 12.5 for Negroes who died from this disease in 1914. The increased number of deaths from syphilis is probably due to the presence of large numbers of Negro newcomers in the congested centers of Negro population and perhaps to the

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[1] Reference 44 (b), pp. 46, 51.

[2] Reference 121 (a), pp. 238-44.

> increased facilities for diagnosis as well as to more accurate reporting. These people come largely from the rural districts of the South where they possessed neither the facilities nor the knowledge to obtain proper treatment for their ills. As a rule, death from syphilis occurs only after the disease has continued over a long period. It is probable that most of the Negroes dying from the disease in Pennsylvania in the last few years incurred the infection elsewhere." [1]

A disproportionate increase in mortality and amount of illness as a result of the migration was not surprising in view of the decided change in climate and mode of living which the movements involved. The migrants necessarily experienced a period of adjustment to new customs of housing, of food and of clothing and, in consequence, were particularly susceptible to such diseases as pneumonia and tuberculosis. Their ignorance of disease, of sanitation and of means of securing help in a large city in times of illness, and their poverty, all contributed to increase deaths and sickness among colored groups. Unaccustomed to confinement both at home and at work, to lack of ventilation and to the nervous strain of city life, they necessarily showed the effects of these changed conditions in a lessened physical resistance. Furthermore, the unsanitary, congested housing facilities in these centers tended to further both the inception and spread of disease.

Evidence from studies of the Negro's health status points to the conclusion that his high death rate is not entirely a racial trait or merely the effect of climatic change, but to a great extent is due to poor housing, poverty and ignorance. As the Negro's standard of living improves, as he is given a chance to find better homes and as his knowledge of health precautions is increased by campaigns of the Health Department and by social welfare agencies, health conditions among the colored group tend to improve.

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[1] References 110 (a), pp. 45-6; *cf.* 57 (g), p. 341.

> Woofter, for instance, has made a correlation of density with death rates from tuberculosis and infant mortality on the basis of which he points out the serious effect of crowding upon the health of the Negro.[1] Likewise the Pennsylvania survey stresses the effect of poor housing and the Negro's ignorance of a suitable mode of living upon the mortality rates and amount of illness within this population group.[2] The effect of ignorance upon the health problem of Negroes is indicated by the results which have been obtained in several cities when Health Departments have carried on systematic campaigns to educate the colored people in matters of sanitation and prevention of illness. In New York such efforts of the Health Department resulted in a decrease of infant mortality among Negroes from 202 per 1,000 births in 1915 to 164 per 1,000 births in 1920. A similar campaign in Newark, New Jersey, reduced the infant death rate from 172 per 1,000 in 1919 to 106 in 1921.[3] After careful analysis of Negro death rates for a long period of years, Dublin concludes that "The problem, then, in my judgment, is largely one of environment. The very diseases and conditions from which the Negro suffers point out clearly that we are not concerned to any serious degree with weaknesses of stock or of stamina. Other races when subjected to similar conditions of housing, hard work, limitations on food, clothing and medical attendance, show mortality rates no better than those for Negroes."[4]

[1] Reference 157 (d), p. 90.

[2] Reference 110 (a), pp. 48-9.

[3] Reference 62 (b), p. 974.

[4] Reference 26 (d), p. 82.

Although the migration brought the Negroes to a more severe climate and to a more strenuous mode of life, it also brought them under the influence of more rigidly enforced sanitary regulations and in touch with publicly-given information concerning the importance of higher health standards. Change of climate has undoubtedly affected the death rate and the amount of sickness, though bad housing and poverty were so prevalent among the migrants that it is difficult to know to what extent the health situation should be attributed to climate and to what extent to living conditions. On the whole, it seems probable that the Negro has the capacity of adapting himself, if he is given a chance to attain a normal standard of living. The death rate among Negroes in northern cities is still far higher than that of the white population, particularly from diseases of the respiratory organs, infant mortality and syphilis. Furthermore, in their fluctuations from year to year the mortality rates of northern colored people are not steadily diminishing. According to Dublin, the tendency toward an increased death rate from 1923 to 1926 is probably only a temporary condition; among the cases which he studied, at least, the 1927 figures for Negroes showed a decrease for both men and women.[1]

Information collected by surveys of specific cities around 1920 to 1924 have optimistically indicated the improved health status of colored people in northern cities.[2] It is probably true that in such specific instances as infant mortality or pneumonia, the death rate and amount of illness have at times been diminished by campaigns of Health Departments and by the Negroes' increasing knowledge and adaptation to northern life. A comparison of Negro mortality rates in northern cities from 1920 to 1926 reveals, however, no firm basis for believing that the Negroes are steadily improving in health conditions. On the other hand, it is true that the majority of the northern states and cities which have received the largest share of migrants have decreased the mortality rates since 1910, and this in spite of the large influx of southern Negroes who had to pass through a period of adjustment necessarily unfavorable to normal health. A comparison of official reports, individual surveys and general discussions leads to the conclusion that, in general, there has been a real improvement in the health status of northern Negroes since 1910. It is apparent, however, that most of the industrial centers did not give adequate attention to the problem of Negro mortality and illness nor to the causes and consequences of the health status of their colored populations.

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[1] Reference 26 (d), p. 82.

[2] References 62 (e), pp. 69-70; 46 (d), p. 70; 121 (a), p. 241; 22 (a), sec. vi.

CHAPTER X

THE SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT OF THE NEGRO

CRIME

DUE to the widely held belief that the tendency toward crime is greater among Negroes than among other population groups, many expected the recent migration to result in a tremendous increase in the problems of crime and vice in northern cities. A study of the latest information available leads to the conclusion that this pessimistic prophecy was justified, for practically every important center to which migrants flocked witnessed an increase in the number of Negro cases brought before the police courts. Furthermore, in the North as well as in the South, Negroes undeniably show a larger proportion of arrests and convictions than do white people. Every investigation of court records and criminal statistics in northern cities reported that the Negroes' contribution to the criminal cases was relatively much higher than their share of the total population.[1]

> According to the survey made by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania "There were 15,734 arrests made in the city of Philadelphia during the first six months of 1924. Of this number 3,842 (or 24.4 per cent), or practically one-fourth of the total arrests for this period were Negroes. The 1920 Census showed that the Negroes constituted

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[1] See Bibliography, references 110 (a), pp. 69-72; 139 (a); 32 (a), pp. 46-50; 145 (d), pp. 138-41; 114 (a), p. 4; 120 (a), p. 527; 22 (a), sec. ix; 17 (a), pp. 331, ch. 7, pp. 621-3; 119 (a), ch. 14; 46 (j), pp. 37-8; 9 (a), pp. 171-3; 70 (a), p. 235; 57 (g), pp. 341-2.

> 7.4 per cent of the total population of Philadelphia. Comparing the proportion of Negro arrests with their percentage of the population, they have more than three times as many arrests as might be expected. . . . Seven out of every 1,000 of the white population were arrested during the period of January 1 to June 30, 1924, in comparison with approximately 29 Negroes arrested out of every 1,000 of the Negro population. The investigation in Pittsburgh showed for the same period 3,678 Negro arrests, which amounted to 13.8 per cent of the total arrests. Since Negroes at the 1920 Census constituted 6.4 per cent of the total population of Pittsburgh, they had more than twice as many arrests as one might expect. Negro arrests for this period approximate 97 out of every 1,000 of the Negro population. On the other hand, only 45 white people out of every 1,000 of the white population were arrested."[1] In Cincinnati Negroes comprised 23 per cent of those arrested although they were only 7 per cent of the total population.[2] Investigation of the criminal statistics for the state of Michigan revealed the fact that 18.7 per cent of all the prisoners were colored, whereas only 2.6 per cent of the state population was Negro.[3] Similar situations were reported in Detroit and Waterbury, Conn.[4] The Chicago Race Commission made a careful investigation of the crime situation among Chicago Negroes and concluded that the apparent rate of crime among colored, as this was measured by arrests and convictions, was greater than among whites.[5]

Some sort of upward trend in the number of Negro arrests and convictions was to be expected as an accompaniment of the rapid growth of colored population, so that the appearance of more Negroes before the courts did not in itself mean a sudden jump in the criminal tendencies of the race. There are indications that the amount of crime did not increase so rapidly in the North as did the total Negro population, but there has been so little comparison between increase in Negro crime rates and increase in Negro population for the years before and during migration, that nothing definite can be said on this subject. However, surveys made by the United States Department of Labor, by the Chicago Race Commission and by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania all concluded that in the specific localities studied, crime among Negroes had not increased at the same rate as had the total colored population.[1] The numerical increase which did undoubtedly occur is usually attributed to the newcomers from the South. Since the migrants contained an abnormally large proportion of adults between the years 20 and 44, during which there is most likely to be conflict with the law, it was natural that they should augment the number of those arrested and convicted.

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[1] Reference 110 (a), p. 69.

[2] Reference 120 (a), p. 527.

[3] Reference 70 (a), p. 235.

[4] References 22 (a), sec. ix; 57 (g), p. 341.

[5] Reference 17 (a), p. 331.

The conspicious and inevitable effect of the migration on crime increase is further indicated by a study of the nature of offenses for which Negroes were arrested. The increase in arrests for petty offenses was much greater than the increase for major crimes. In practically all the cities in which investigations of Negro criminality have been made, the majority of colored prisoners had been arrested on charges of immorality, gambling, drunkenness, being suspicious persons, and violating city ordinances. Among the major crimes, larceny was the most conspicuous offense.[2] When distinctions are made between Negro men and women in studying the causes of arrest, it is found that by far the most important single offense of colored women is that of being inmates of disorderly houses. So far, insufficient attention has been paid by investigators to the subject of the causes and significance of the high rate of prostitution among Negroes in northern cities. Thus the existence of a migrant group which has not yet become adjusted to a new economic and social environment is revealed in the nature of the Negroes' offenses. Furthermore, where relative proportions of northern and southern Negro criminals have been obtained, it is evident that the newcomers contributed a large share to these cases.[1]

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[1] References 145 (d), pp. 138-41; 17 (a), p. 331; 110 (a), p. 72.

[2] References 145 (d), pp. 138-43; 110 (a), p. 70; 32 (a), pp. 48-51; 120 (a), p. 527; 2 (a), p. 13; 57 (g), p. 341; 139 (a), pp. 251-4.

A study of criminal statistics obtained from the court records of northern cities would thus seemingly substantiate the belief that Negroes are naturally more criminal in their tendencies than are white people, and that the influx of southern laborers must necessarily augment the problem of law observance in these industrial centers by increasing the danger from potential criminals. However, the fallacies involved in this sort of conclusion must not be overlooked. In the first place, criminal statistics in northern cities are by no means infallible and must be used with caution. Even the enumeration of arrests may be unreliable, as is seen in the case of data on arrests in Minneapolis.

> The Municipal Court of Minneapolis reported the number of arrests of Negroes for 1923 as 470, for 1924 as 930, and for 1925 as 890. When these figures were carefully checked with police court records by Miss Boie, working under the auspices of the Urban League, it was found that the totals should have been 517, 389 and 478 for each of the three years respectively.[2]

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[1] References 70 (a), p. 235; 145 (d), pp. 138-9.

[2] Reference 9 (a), pp. 171-3. For other examples of unreliability of criminal statistics see 128 (a), p. 54.

Furthermore, comparisons of criminal tendencies inherent in Negroes and white people are usually made on the basis of the number of arrests and convictions, but these do not furnish an adequate measure of the amount of actual crime. The number of arrests and convictions furnish particularly inaccurate estimates of criminal proclivities among colored people because Negroes are handicapped by the tendency of authorities to arrest them more freely, "to book them on more serious charges, to convict them more readily and to give them longer sentences."[1] Frequently police officers do not hesitate to arrest Negroes on insufficient evidence because their inferior economic and social status renders it unlikely that there will be disagreeable results if the arrests should prove unwarranted. As a matter of fact, a large number of Negro cases are discharged without trial because of the lack of any excuse for their arrest.

> "Of the Negroes arrested in Philadelphia . . . 31.1 per cent were discharged. . . . In Pittsburgh, of the total number of Negroes arrested . . . 36.7 were discharged."[2] "The very high rate of discharges of Negroes for certain offenses as compared with arrests is undoubtedly in a very large measure the result of unwarranted arrests."[3]

This tendency toward the hasty and wholesale arrest of Negroes on insufficient basis is augmented by the general inclination of white people to regard a Negro with suspicion and to consider him guilty until he is proved innocent—and sometimes even then. Police officers share this wide prejudice and in case of a violation of the law are likely to arrest a Negro if he is within hailing distance of the crime. The policy of the white press further intensifies this attitude of suspicion, for whenever a Negro is connected with a crime, falsely or not, the factor of his race is made prominent in headlines and write-up, so that white readers inevitably and unconsciously associate the word criminal with that of Negro. Reuter has summarized this phase of the situation: "The press thus caters to the general belief and the general belief is in turn reinforced by the stories in the press. There is, in consequence, a vicious circle; a tradition of Negro crime, the deliberate or unintentional selection of news, the confirmation of the popular belief."[1] With this subtle but powerful background of race prejudice and suspicion, it is natural, perhaps, that policemen, lawyers and judges should tend to apprehend and convict a Negro suspect on less objective grounds than would be required in the case of a white man. The situation is also aggravated by the fact that colored people are often too ignorant and poor to secure intelligent and capable lawyers for their defense.

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[1] References 17 (a), pp. 329, 345. *Cf.* 128 (a), pp. 54-6; 119 (a), pp. 355-7; 157 (a), pp. 53, 127-8, 138.

[2] Reference 110 (a), p. 70.

[3] Reference 128 (a), p. 56.

Other factors likewise serve to invalidate the common opinion that high rates of crime among northern Negroes are due to inherent racial criminality. Their low economic status frequently prevents them from paying fines, so that they are forced to the alternative sentence of imprisonment. This naturally adds to the number of colored cases in prisons. Poverty and the restricted opportunity of securing employment which the Negro faces in northern cities contribute their share to the cases of larceny and robbery. Likewise, the inability to secure employment except in poorly-paid servants' work has contributed to the high rate of prostitution which prevails among Negro women.

The very composition of the northern Negro groups is an important factor in their crime rate, for, as has been shown, colored populations in these industrial centers contain high percentages of those age groups, 20 to 44, which constitute the highest proportion of criminal offenders among any people. Furthermore, migration brought in hordes of southern Negroes who were ignorant of the rules which govern living in northern cities. Such factors naturally increased the number of colored people who were arrested for such offenses as drunkenness, immorality, being suspicious persons and violating city ordinances. Newcomers from the South were frequently left stranded without friends and hung around the streets in the congested districts while they solved the difficult problems of finding work and shelter; thus they were easily apprehended as suspicious persons, loafers or vagrants. Many of them were illiterate and ignorant of city regulations, seeing no reason why they should observe sanitary requirements or why they should not carry weapons or settle their family and personal difficulties by brawls and fights, if they wished to do so. The tendency toward drunkenness and immorality was not surprising in view of the fact that a large number of the migrants were young men with no family ties in the North who were often forced into the streets and saloons by the housing situation. Congestion in poor dwellings led to close contact of both sexes and to a lack of privacy that increased the prevalence of quarrels, assaults and sexual crimes. Lack of proper recreational facilities also played a part in increasing crime, for in many northern cities colored people are discouraged from entering amusement places with white people and are forced to spend their leisure time in saloons and cheap recreational centers where drunkenness, gambling and immorality are prevalent. The high crime rate among northern Negroes is the effect of poor environment and lack of economic and educational opportunities rather than of ineradicable racial traits.

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[1] Reference 119 (a), p. 356.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Intensive studies of the problem of juvenile delinquency among colored children in northern cities are not numerous but on the basis of the information which is available it is evident that delinquency among Negro children in the North is usually higher than among white children.[1] Wherever actual figures have been obtained in northern cities, Negroes have contributed a proportion of delinquents larger than their proportion in the total population. Much of this high rate was due to the recent migration from the South. The colored children were frequently without adequate home care and supervision because both parents were working. Due to their low economic status, Negroes show an abnormally high percentage of married women engaged in gainful occupations, and the outside employment of mothers has a direct effect upon the amount of juvenile delinquency. Furthermore, colored children are likely to be influenced by undesirable home surroundings resulting from congestion, poor sanitation, and the presence of lodgers who may be a menace to the morals of adolescents and to the privacy and integration of the whole family. Most northern cities have failed to provide adequate recreational facilities for the children and this, coupled with lack of home care, leads to a misdirected use of spare time and energy that may easily result in detected offenses.

Conditions in the schools have aggravated the situation by producing restlessness, a sense of defeat and rebellion in children who have been handicapped by poor schools in the South and are consequently placed with younger children in northern schools. Many of the little newcomers were thrown into a strange environment with practically no assistance in making the necessary adjustment; hence, they frequently failed in the process and ended in the juvenile courts. Surroundings and not innate tendencies would seem to be largely accountable for the high rate of delinquency among Negro children in northern cities.

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[1] References 61 (a); 17 (a), pp. 333-5, 341; 22 (a), sec. ix, pp. 44-7, 55; 120 (a), p. 527; 70 (a), p. 235; 157 (d), pp. 227-9.

> The Joint Committee on Negro Child Study in New York City investigated the cases brought before the children's court in 1925 and found that the percentage of Negroes among juvenile delinquents was nearly three times as high as the proportion of Negroes in the total population. However, disorderly conduct was the most frequent charge against Negroes, whereas among white children stealing was the most common offense. It was felt that recent migrations had decidedly augmented problems of delinquency because of the consequent lack of adjustment of Negro families to northern city life. The high rate of delinquency among colored children was attributed chiefly to this maladjustment, to the lack of parental control which was increased by the absence of mothers who were working, to retardation in school and to lack of proper recreation.[1] In Chicago and Detroit the proportion of colored children among juvenile delinquents far outdistanced the percentage of Negroes in the total population, and in both cities the chief factors in producing the high rate were connected with problems resulting from the recent influx.[2] The Pennsylvania survey concluded that there had been "an apparent increase in juvenile delinquency. This, however, is to be expected as the result of the presence of a large number of families in the community, the heads of which are unacquainted with the institutions of the city, and who do not know how to properly direct their children into the desirable avenues. In addition, the economic status of Negroes in Philadelphia is

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[1] Reference 61 (a).

[2] References 22 (a), sec. ix; 17 (a), pp. 333-5, 341.

> still such that many Negro women have to go outside of the home to work to increase the family budget. Another cause of juvenile delinquency among Negro children . . . is that contributed by over-aged Negro children in the public schools. These children have come from sections of the country where they have had very little schooling. They are placed in classes with white children much younger and much smaller than themselves. Consequently, they feel out of harmony in their school relationships, and are unhappy with the inevitable 'inferiority complex'; and frequently become the 'incorrigibles'; then truants; and finally, juvenile delinquents."[1]

DEFECTIVES AND DEPENDENTS

There is so little adequate information concerning the effect of recent Negro movements upon the problems of caring for colored defectives and dependents in northern cities that no conclusions or opinions can be stated. There is some evidence pointing to a high rate of insanity among Negroes who have migrated, which may be due to the strain of urban life and lack of adjustment to a totally different environment. It also seems probable that, especially in times of business depression and consequent unemployment, the problems of dependency and poverty have been increased in northern cities by the addition of southern Negroes.[2] Further investigations are needed, however, before definite statements can be made on these subjects.

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[1] Reference 110 (a), p. 72.

[2] References 157 (a), p. 53; 22 (a), sec. xii; 120 (a), p. 527; 16 (b); 110 (a), p. 84; 70 (a), p. 235.

CHAPTER XI

The Negro and Northern Institutions

EDUCATION

In spite of the fact that the southern migrants contained an abnormally small proportion of children, the number brought North was sufficiently large to create serious problems in the northern city school systems. These have been further complicated by the addition of children born since the parents came North, and who have reached school age. In 1923 it was estimated that the number of colored children in northern schools had increased over fifty per cent since the beginning of the migrations,[1] and specific surveys in various cities have united in emphasizing the enlarged enrollment of Negro children in the public schools of industrial centers.[2] Even mere increase in numbers has inevitably affected the problems and expenditures of northern school boards, for it has been necessary to provide teachers, space and equipment for these new pupils. At the same time, other problems have arisen and have complicated the educational situation.

Legally, northern states do not require the segregation of colored children in separate schools, but since the rapid increase of Negro population, in several northern cities there has been an increasingly apparent tendency to bring about some degree of separation. Inevitably, as a district becomes more completely Negro, the neighborhood school shows less and less mingling of white and colored children, and in some cities where the schools are mixed, such as New York and Buffalo, the predominance of one race or another tends to be determined by the character of the neighborhood. However, all cases of segregation of Negro children in northern schools cannot be explained by such natural forces. It is not unusual for colored children to be transferred, or enrolled at the beginning, in a school which is predominantly Negro, even though another school may be nearer to their homes. Likewise white children living in or near a neighborhood largely colored are sometimes sent to more distant schools in order to avoid mingling the races. Even in cities where schools are mixed, there may still be signs of segration in the form of seating arrangements, separate classes or separate rooms. There are also evidences that in some northern cities no attitude of discrimination was apparent as long as there were only a few colored children, but when large numbers arrived, the tendency toward forced segregation became more noticeable.

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[1] See Bibliography, references 43 (a), p. 731; *cf.* 157 (d), pp. 173-5; 111 (a), p. 1.

[2] References 32 (a), p. 71; 110 (a), p. 57; 157 (d), ch. x; 22 (a), sec. viii; 117 (a), p. 537; 17 (a), p. 93; 145 (d), pp. 10-1; 93 (a), p. 177; 81 (a), pp. 42-4; 2 (a), p. 13.

> Specific surveys illustrate the divergent policies of various northern cities and show the manner in which segregation in schools is frequently accomplished. "Some northern cities not only have schools attended by both white and colored pupils, but also separate schools, or separate rooms, for colored pupils. The distribution of the colored pupils between separate schools and mixed schools is not wholly determined by the number of colored pupils in a given area. It was found that some of the Negro areas of greatest density are served by mixed schools; while some of the separate schools for colored pupils are more accessible to white pupils than to colored pupils. Of the northern cities included in this survey, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Gary and Dayton have some form of separate accommodation for Negro pupils. (This survey also reported a growing tendency toward segregation in the last three

cities.) New York, Chicago and Buffalo have no separate schools or separate rooms within schools."[1] In spite of no general policy of segregation in Chicago, the Chicago Race Commission reported instances in which colored children were sent to particular schools which were largely Negro or were discouraged from enrolling in schools which contained a large majority of white pupils. However, where distinctions between Negro and white children do occur in Chicago, they seem to be due to the attitude of individual principals and teachers, since the Chicago School Board makes no such differentiation and does not make a practice of maintaining separate schools.[2] "There are 42 separate public schools for Negroes in Pennsylvania. This separation is frankly carried out in some quarters and subtly in others. For instance in Philadelphia, there are 12 schools which have 100 per cent Negro attendance. All the teachers are Negroes, including the principal. Negro children living in school districts bordering on the districts of these 12 schools are sent out of their district to the school having all Negro pupils and teachers, and white children living in the district of the schools having all Negro pupils and teachers are sent out of their district to schools which have 100 per cent white attendance. . . . In many of the smaller cities and towns the school authorities have been quite frank in their segregation of the races. Such towns as Coatesville and Chester have separate schools for all Negro children up to and including the junior high school grade. . . . Even in communities where it was financially difficult to establish separate school buildings for Negroes, the authorities have developed what have been called 'Union Rooms'. In these 'Union Rooms' are placed all the Negro children in the school, irrespective of grades. The resulting situation is that while the white children of the school are distributed in grades, usually one grade to a room . . . the Negro children of varying ages are grouped together regardless of school grade." [1] In New Jersey "there will be found . . . types of schools varying from those completely mixed, with Negro teachers placed without strict regard to the preponderance of Negro pupils, in the northern part of the state, to types in which segregation is carried to the point of dividing a building so that white and Negro children are completely separated, with white teachers for the white and Negro teachers for the Negro students, and a heavy wire screen dividing the playground. . . . The situation in New Jersey is by no means atypical, and represents in general the method of bringing about segregation artificially in cases where natural means do not turn the trick." [2] On the other hand, Negro children in Minneapolis seem to be scattered in various schools and the survey of that city contains no record of any general policy of segregation of school children.[3]

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[1] References 157 (d), p. 177. *Cf. ibid.*, ch. x.

[2] Reference 17 (a), pp. 238, 242, 253.

Further evidence of divergent policies in regard to separation is seen in the report that even in mixed schools "Seating arrangements . . . differ widely; and often depend on the attitude of the teachers. . . . Colored pupils sometimes occupy only the front seats or the back seats; in some schools or rooms they are grouped on one side, or occupy alternate rows; sometimes they are seated without regard to race; or they share seats with white pupils, a method used regularly by one teacher for punishing white pupils. In one room a colored pupil is literally forced to take the back seat, in another room he is president of his class and in another the editor of the paper, in another in charge of the tool room, while in another he is expected to do more than his share of menial tasks." [4]

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[1] Reference 110 (a), pp. 58-9.

[2] Reference 108 (a), p. 227.

[3] Reference 44 (b), pp. 19-21.

[4] Reference 157 (d), p. 183. For similar reports see references 111 (a), p. 3; 93 (a), p. 177; 120 (a), p. 526; 22 (a), sec. viii; 117 (a), p. 538; 94 (a), p. 690; 126 (a).

Principals, teachers and school boards have at times maintained that separation of school children on the basis of race is a necessity because of the high rate of retardation among Negro children, for the presence of a number of slow, over-age pupils is likely to hinder the progress of other members of the class. There is no doubt that retardation among Negroes in northern schools is more prevalent than among white children, and that the problem of handling these over-age pupils presents serious difficulties to northern school authorities. Not only is the proportion of retarded children higher among colored than among white children, but also the degree or number of years of retardation is highest among colored pupils, since many are from two to five years behind their normal grades.[1]

> Specific surveys of school conditions in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit and other northern cities emphasize the seriousness of this problem of retardation among Negroes. The Chicago Race Commission reported that "Over-age or retarded children are found in all the lower grades, special classes, and ungraded rooms, and are noticeable all the way to the eighth grade, where seventeen- and nineteen-year-old children are sometimes found." The Commission selected "three groups of schools to be studied for comparative retardation. The group comprised six schools having the largest percentage of Negro children, six attended mainly by whites in neighborhoods where the family income might be comparable, and twelve attended mainly by children of immigrants. . . . (The results showed) the much greater amount of retardation among schools attended by Negroes than in schools attended by white Americans or by children of immigrants." In the group of schools attended largely by Negroes 74

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[1] References 17 (a), pp. 256-61; 108 (a), pp. 228-9; 2 (a), p. 13; 81 (a), pp. 42-4; 22 (a), sec. viii; 157 (d), pp. 184-6; 32 (a), p. 72; 57 (g), p. 340; 110 (a), p. 57.

> per cent of the children were retarded as compared with 49 per cent in each of the other two groups. The degree of retardation was also higher among the colored children. "The largest single groups of backward white American and foreign children are retarded less than one year—42 per cent of the white American and 39 per cent of the foreign group. . . . In the case of the Negroes 19 per cent are retarded less than one year . . . and many more children are retarded two, three, four, five years and more."[1] Likewise, in Pennsylvania "the age-grade standing of Negro pupils is somewhat lower than that of the children as a whole of the Commonwealth, according to the figures of those cities which keep separate records of Negro children. . . . In Philadelphia the percentage of white pupils over-age is 1½ per cent while the percentage of Negro pupils over-age was 3 per cent."[2]

The conspicuous prevalence of retardation among Negro children is often accepted as conclusive evidence of their inferior mental ability, for it is assumed that there would not be so many over-age pupils among Negroes if their native intelligence were equal to that of white children. Careful investigations of the problem among colored pupils in such cities as Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia indicate, however, that there are many other factors which have influenced the extent of retardation among Negroes. Fundamentally, this whole problem was closely linked with migration, for many of those retarded had recently come from the South. When distinctions were made between northern and southern Negroes it was found in comparing them with white pupils that there was usually no great discrepancy between northern Negro and white students in this respect.

For example, the Chicago Race Commission contended

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[1] Reference 17 (a), pp. 239, 256, 258.

[2] Reference 110 (a), p. 57.

> that "The Negro child born in the North is not found to an unusual extent among the retarded children. He has been able to enter school on time and to attend the full term of nine months; his teachers compare favorably with those in white American and foreign neighborhoods, and his parents as a rule have a better background. Many teachers say that the progress of the northern-born Negroes compares very favorably with that of whites."[1]

In fact, all of the surveys which investigated the causes of retardation among Negroes emphasized migration from the South as one of the chief factors in producing this situation. Children who had transferred from southern schools had been seriously handicapped by the poor educational facilities there, by the short terms and by the inadequate compulsory school laws. A large proportion of the children had been over-age when they entered school and others who had been in their normal age-grades in the South had been demoted in the North because they had not received sufficient training to keep up with the northern classes.

Another common cause was found to be poor home conditions; many of the parents were migrants who needed the economic help of the children and put them to work if possible, or else were unacquainted with northern school systems and did not voluntarily observe the school attendance laws. Furthermore, many of the mothers were at work away from home all day and consequently were unable to see to it that their children went to school regularly and stayed there during school hours. However, irregular attendance did not seem to play so large a part in producing the higher rate of retardation among Negro children as did an inferior quality of previous education. Undoubtedly economic and social causes have been highly important factors contributing to the backwardness of Negro children.

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[1] References 17 (a), p. 241 *cf.* 108 (a), pp. 228-9.

The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research concluded that "The chief causes of retardation among the colored children are (1) inferiority of the schools which they attended in the South; (2) the higher average median age at entrance of the colored children in the Detroit schools; (3) poor home conditions; (4) lack of familiarity with the Detroit system." The Bureau also pointed out the difference in the per cent of retardation among Negro children born in the North and those born in the South. For example, only 4.7 per cent of the colored children born in Michigan were among those retarded, while over 21 per cent of those from Georgia and North Carolina, and 25 per cent of those from Mississippi were over-age.[1] The Chicago Race Commission reported that "The majority of retarded Negro children are southerners, and their retardation can be readily understood when the gross inadequacies of southern schools for Negroes are considered. . . . The predominating cause of retardation among Negroes is late entrance. . . . This is generally explained by the fact that the family came from the South, where there was no school near enough for the child to attend, or the school was overcrowded, or the family was uneducated and indifferent. . . . The next most important cause . . . is family difficulties. The fathers are often kept away from home weeks at a time by their work. A large number of the mothers are working, and the parents' lack of education is frequently the cause of a home life that is below standard, physically and morally." Other factors listed as causing retardation were lack of adjustment to urban life, demotion because of the short terms and inferior standards in southern schools and the sensitiveness of some children about over-age and larger size.[2]

Similar opinions are expressed by students of the general status of colored children in the North. For instance,

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[1] Reference **22 (a)**, sec. viii, pp. 9, 4.

[2] Reference **17 (a)**, pp. 615, 258-66.

> it is pointed out that "many (of the colored pupils) are from southern schools with poor standards, and . . . the early education of many was neglected entirely. The low educational background of their families, economic necessity which makes it necessary for both parents to work, frequent moving, and other factors handicap many of the Negro pupils."[1] Payne also concludes that "retardation is immediately connected with the character of the previous education, regularity of school attendance, and the character of the schools and teaching, and not to difference in learning capacity and 'native intelligence'."[2]

There is sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that recent movements of southern Negroes have seriously added to the educational problems of northern cities. [A larger number of Negro children had to be provided for and in many cities the question of segregation arose for the first time, or was intensified.] In addition, the prevalence of retardation among colored children coming from southern schools has increased the burdens and complexities of northern school systems. Retardation has also rendered more difficult the adjustment of these over-age pupils to their new environment, for when grouped with younger, smaller children, many of them grow discouraged and hopeless.

On the other hand, the migration has resulted in marked improvement in the educational opportunities of colored children. Even where the influx of migrants has led to increased segregation, the schools of the North have been far superior to those attended by the children in the South. One of the greatest gains of the migration has been the increase of educational opportunities for colored children.

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[1] Reference 157 (d), p. 184.

[2] References 108 (a), pp. 228-9. *Cf.* 110 (a), p. 57.

MIGRATION AND POLITICS

The effect of the migration upon the political situation in the North has yet to be adequately investigated. So little is known concerning the extent and manner in which the increase of colored population has influenced either the political problems of northern cities or the Negro's attitude toward politics that only a few general opinions can be given. These are by no means established facts but merely suggest the possible reaction of migration upon politics and indicate the need for further study.

Since northern states do not legally deprive the Negro of the franchise, the colored laborer who moved north naturally obtained the right to vote which had been denied him in the South. In so far as the migrant desired franchisement and gained it by settling in a northern city, the migration was a distinct advantage to him. At the same time, there have been concomitant dangers due to the migrant's inexperience in matters of city government and his consequent susceptibility to the influence of corrupt politicians. There is at present little factual basis for determining whether the increased Negro vote in northern cities has been beneficial or harmful. Undoubtedly there are instances of both results even in the same city but lack of sufficient evidence prevents any conclusion as to which predominates. Cases have been found of the exploitation of Negro voters by northern politicians, with the result that the colored vote was a detriment to the community.[1] On the other hand, the Detroit Bureau concluded from its survey that "the newly arrived migrants have exercised the use of the ballot in a commendable fashion when one considers their lack of experience in politics and the fact that they have been so completely exposed to the activities of political demagogues."[2] The extent to which the new colored voters are to be considered either a benefit or menace depends, in part, upon their numerical strength and significance in a particular city. Several students have maintained that the vast increase in Negro votes has at times made the Negro an influential factor in municipal elections.[1] However, there is not sufficient information on this point to make comparisons between various cities or to draw conclusions for the North.

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[1] References 17 (a), p. 3; 59 (a), p. 406; 114 (a), p. 4; 136 (a), p. 692; 22 (a), sec. xi, p. 7; 25 (a), ch. 6.

[2] Reference 22 (a), sec. xi, p. 7.

> The limited studies which have been made of the political situation among northern Negroes since the migration tend to report such conclusions as the following: "In Pittsburgh the Negro is politically, at least, as free as the whites of the same class. Coming from places where the vote is denied him, he is naturally very glad to have his right of suffrage restored. It is a well-known fact to Pittsburghers that the Negro vote may be a deciding factor in the results of municipal elections." [2]

The migration has resulted in the enfranchisement of thousands of colored voters. However, on the basis of the material at hand conclusions cannot be drawn as to whether the increased political power of Negroes throughout the North is potential or actual, advantageous or harmful.

THE CHURCH AND THE MIGRANT

Since colored people possess an unusually strong interest in religious activities and since a large proportion of them are members of some religious organization, the churches of the North were immediately affected by the movements of Negro laborers and their families. As soon as a crowd of migrants arrived, most of them sought at once to transfer their membership to some local body. The churches already established in northern cities were soon faced with serious problems of accommodating these newcomers. Many were so overtaxed that they were compelled to hold double services in order to care for those who desired to attend.[1] This congestion was further increased by the strong tendency toward racial separation which is characteristic of northern religious organizations. Colored people in the North usually have their own institutions instead of uniting with white people. Consequently, in many of the cities there has been a decided increase in the number of Negro churches.

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[1] References 17 (a), p. 3; 62 (b), p. 973; 32 (a), p. 30; 145 (d), pp. 124-5; 110 (a), p. 90; 13 (a), pp. 370-3.

[2] References 145 (d), p. 124. *Cf.* 32 (a), p. 30; 13 (a), pp. 370-3.

> In Chicago during the five year period, 1910 to 1915, twelve Negro churches were organized but in the following five year period, 1915 to 1920, which covered the years of heavy migration, thirty-four churches were organized and fifteen of these in the year 1918 alone.[2] In Detroit there were thirty-eight colored churches in 1919 as contrasted with nine in 1914, and the Detroit Bureau of Research believed this marked increase to be a direct result of the migration. The large proportion of church members was also attributed to the recent influx of Negroes; more than 55 per cent of the colored people in Detroit were affiliated with some religious organization, and 85 per cent of these members had joined Detroit churches since 1915. As a result, many of the Negro churches could not seat their full memberships.[3] In Pennsylvania 38 per cent of the Negroes were reported as enrolled in some church and in ten years the number of Negro churches had increased about 30 per cent.[4]

Among colored groups the church is frequently the center of the social as well as of the religious life, and this double 10 hold has probably been important in the development of the Negroes' keen interest in religion. It has also strengthened their tendency and desire for organizations of their own. The importance of the social function is particularly evident in southern rural churches, but it retains a prominent place in the activities in the North. When migrants began to arrive in large numbers, many northern churches established employment bureaus, recreation centers and welfare agencies in order to meet the complex needs of the colored people in their new environment.[1] The Negro church has been described as "75 per cent a social center and 25 per cent a religious institution"[2] and there is no doubt that even in the North it has been called upon to help satisfy the colored man's desire for social relationships and recreation. Negroes are so frequently prohibited from mingling with white people in public amusement and recreational centers, or are so subject to the possibility of embarrassment if they do enter places frequented by white people, that many of them prefer to find recreation in the activities of their churches.

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[1] Reference 124 (a), p. 144.

[2] Reference 17 (a), p. 145.

[3] Reference 22 (a), sec. x, pp. 1-5.

[4] References 110 (a), pp. 62-3. *Cf.* 81 (a), p. 45.

> The Detroit Bureau has summarized a situation which is found in many northern cities: "The Negro has been humiliated in so many public and privately owned institutions and amusement places that he has resorted to the church as a place in which he can be sure of peacefully spending his leisure time. To a large extent it takes the place of the theater, the dance halls, and similar amusement places, and fills the vacancy created by the failure of the public and commercial places of recreation and amusement to give him a cordial welcome. Consequently, the average Negro church in Detroit keeps its doors open constantly for the use of the community. Numerous suppers, lec-

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[1] References 22 (a), sec. x; 17 (a), pp. 142-6; 110 (a), ch. ix; 46 (k), pp. 266-7; 119 (a), pp. 332-3.

[2] Reference 110 (a), p. 62.

> tures, recitals, debates, plays and the like are given by clubs and individuals from within and without the congregation."[1]

In spite of these social and religious activities, it is possible that the migration has tended to loosen the hold of the church upon some of the Negroes at least, since they have settled in an environment which has a multiplicity of agencies to fulfill the functions of amusement, education and social relations which in the rural South were satisfied mainly by the religious group. This is a mere hypothesis, however, that awaits further investigation. It seems plausible that young people particularly, and those who came North without a close circle of friends and relatives, might tend to drift to commercial amusements and the recreational centers which are open to Negroes, thus breaking away from controls exercised by the church group.

> Reuter contends that in general among Negroes, the church is "losing ground. This is to some extent a part of the general decline of religion resulting from the development of science and the spread of knowledge; the Negroes are being influenced to some extent by the spread of modern ideas. But there are other and more important reasons, chief of which is the development of new avenues of expression and amusement. In the larger towns the churches no longer have a monopoly on social resources. There are other meeting places and other means of amusement. . . . Places of amusement are developing and with them the church cannot compete. . . . There is a growing tendency to restrict the sphere of (the ministers' influence) to religious affairs and so reduce the power of the church in racial life."[2]

[1] References 22 (a), sec. x, p. 9. *Cf.* 17 (a), p. 143; 110 (a), p. 62.

[2] References 119 (a), p. 333. *Cf.* 57 (a), p. 642; 63 (b), p. 65.

However true it may be that the church has lost its strong grip on many Negroes, it still plays an important part in the social and religious life of northern, as well as southern, Negroes. The increase of colored groups in northern cities has resulted both in the rapid building of new churches and in the enlargement of the social and welfare activities of these religious organizations.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Problems connected with the recreation and amusements of northern Negroes have assumed serious importance since recent migrations have augmented the size of colored groups in various cities of the North. In many cases the Negroes now have a shorter working day than they had in the South or in previous occupations in the North, and with this increased leisure the necessity for wholesome recreation becomes more prominent. This is particularly true among the migrants, who are often unaccustomed to the temptations of commercialized amusements which they find in the city, and are more easily swept away by the excitement and gayety, the tension and thrill of city life. With many of them, too, the pressure of social control is decidedly weakened by this move to a new environment, where intimate face-to-face contacts are less frequent and forceful and where it is possible to live without the close observation and criticism of neighbors and relatives. Consequently, there are fewer forces tending to prevent them from resorting to questionable amusements if such are the chief forms of recreation available. Furthermore, the part which recreation may play in the development of hostile or friendly race relations and in the assimilation and cultural advancement of the newcomers renders this question of proper recreational facilities of vital importance in urban centers where the number of colored inhabitants has rapidly grown.

> The few students and investigators who have broken the path in considering this phase of the Negro's urban life unite in pointing out its importance and seriousness. The report of one careful survey of recreational facilities for colored people contends: "Probably no greater problem arises in connection with the Negro's adjustment to urban life than that of how to achieve an effective organization and control of his leisure time activities in the face of race prejudice and other barriers which limit his contacts and frustrate his wishes. . . . In the city, the routinized life, along with the mechanical and impersonal relationships, produce a great deal of social unrest and stress. Hence the problem of relaxation and release from mental strain resulting from intense psychic and muscular application is presented."[1] Similarly, another student of this subject believes: "The use which the Negro has made and has been able to make of his leisure time both in the past and at present must have considerable effect upon his status as a race. The present situation is somewhat more important than the past because of the part which the migration of the Negro to the cities is playing in it. He is coming to the cities now in larger numbers than ever before motivated by the desire to have a good time. . . . It has been proven that there is a connection between the improper use of leisure time and ill health and crime. . . . Consequently, it must be obvious that the way in which the Negro spends his leisure time is almost as important to the community as a whole as it is to the Negro."[2]

In several cities, such as New York, Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland, the National Urban League, various social agencies and the churches are at least making an effort to deal with this problem of recreation. It has been shown in the preceding section that one effect of the migration was an increase in the social activities of northern churches; many of them established recreational rooms and clubs, and held numerous suppers and parties in the endeavor to provide wholesome recreation for the newcomers. Branches of the Urban League in many cities have obtained the use of public school buildings for dances, games and social gatherings.[1] However, these efforts on the part of private organizations are entirely incapable of meeting the situation. Most of the churches do not have sufficient funds to carry on any extensive recreational programs, and even then their more restricted and supervised entertainments can seldom compete with public and commercialized amusement places. Such organizations as the National Urban League frequently lack resources and time to add recreational activities to their crowded schedules. Private and semi-private undertakings cannot satisfactorily supply that lack of public provision for the Negro's recreation which is so evident in practically every northern city. Throughout the North it is almost universally true that public facilities such as playgrounds, recreation centers, parks and bathing beaches, have not been instituted or increased in Negro areas in order to furnish means of recreation for the rapidly mounting numbers of colored inhabitants. As a consequence, few northern cities provide proper resources for the recreation of Negroes.[2]

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[1] Reference 63 (b), pp. 25, 193.

[2] References 150 (c), pp. 272, 282. *Cf.* 157 (d), part iv; 150 (d), p. 334; 17 (a), pp. 271-95, 616-19; 110 (a), ch. 7; 22 (a), sec. vii; 46 (f), p. 24; 57 (g), p. 301.

This inadequacy of facilities for colored people is further intensified by the growing tendency of northern whites to exclude Negroes from many of the sources of amusement which do exist. In all parts of the North there are evidences of increasing discrimination against Negroes in such public places as parks, beaches, theaters, dance halls and Y.M.C.A.'s. Where separation of the races had not already occurred, it tended to appear either openly or indirectly as soon as the Negro population began to show a conspicuous increase in numbers. In cities nearer the border, such as Baltimore and Washington, there is practically complete segregation of blacks from whites. In other cities Negroes are freely admitted to libraries, public parks, zoological gardens and museums but are prevented from mingling with white people on beaches or in playgrounds and theaters. Frequently, segregation is only partial; colored people are allowed to enter but are restricted to certain sections of the playgrounds or theaters. In settlements, Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, swimming pools and playgrounds certain evenings or days, or separate classes, are set aside for Negroes, so that they do not mingle with the white visitors or members. In theaters, moving picture and vaudeville houses with mixed audiences, colored people are frequently limited to seats in the balcony or the least desirable places in the house. Naturally such restrictions serve to discourage the Negroes from taking advantage of public recreational facilities which are at hand, so that they are limited more than ever in their chances for wholesome amusement and well regulated entertainment. It is small wonder that many of them are thrown back on the cheap, vulgar, commercialized places in which alone they are given a hearty welcome. Unfortunately, this limitation of recreational facilities through discrimination and exclusion seems to be increasing in many northern cities. Hence, the problem of recreation among northern Negroes has become steadily more serious.[1]

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[1] References 157 (d), ch. xvi; 145 (d), pp. 154-5; 17 (a), pp. 143-4, 147, 341.

[2] References 17 (a), pp. 296, 616; 63 (b), p. 37 *et seq.*; 150 (c), pp. 272-82; 157 (d), ch. xv.

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[1] References 157 (d), part iv; 150 (c), pp. 275-8; 110 (a), ch. vii; 22 (a), sec. vii; 17 (a), pp. 277, 310, 317-20; 63 (b), chap. ix.

After an extensive study of forty northern cities, Washington writes: "It is obvious that segregation in theaters, including moving picture houses, picture-vaudeville houses and legitimate theaters, is extending throughout the country. It is forcing many of the cultured Negroes in the North to practice the same boycott of the theater that many of them have practiced in the South for years, which consists of remaining away from the theater altogether or attending only the 'all-colored' theaters in cities where such institutions happen to exist. . . . The effect on the culture of the Negro of this self-denial is obvious."[1] The situation which is described as existing in Pennsylvania is similar to that in many northern states: "One of the most dangerous tendencies that is developing in the State is that of the gradual restriction of leisure time opportunities for Negroes. Not only is the newcomer unhappy and dissatisfied in not finding the opportunities for a more abundant life, but a psychological reaction is taking place in the native born Negro who finds himself suddenly shut out of the opportunities for pleasure and recreation that previously he had been privileged to enjoy before the migration increased the density of the minority group. . . . The investigation of leisure time activities among Negroes indicates a deplorable situation. The institutions of wholesome recreation in the community are beginning to close their doors to Negroes when the need is most dire. It is impossible economically for Negroes to duplicate the several institutions of wholesome recreation available to whites, and as a result the Negro is being thrown back more and more on the limited facilities of the Negro community for his leisure time entertainment."[2]

So far there have been few intensive studies of this problem of recreation among northern colored groups, but those surveys which have been made, indicate that cities in the North do not provide adequate facilities for the recreation of their Negro citizens. Furthermore, in most urban centers an increase in the number of colored people seems to result in a growing tendency toward discrimination against them in public amusement places, so that their leisure-time activities are even more limited than appears on the surface. Migration of southern Negroes has tended to increase the problem of recreation in northern cities both by adding to the numbers of those for whom provision should be made and by arousing race prejudice to the point of causing a restriction in the number of amusement places freely open to Negroes.

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[1] Reference 150 (c), p. 277.

[2] Reference 110 (a), pp. 53, 55.

CHAPTER XII

Migration and Social Contacts

RACE RELATIONS

The effect of the conspicuous increase in colored population upon race relations forms the most serious and vitally important result of recent migrations. The influx of colored laborers has brought white inhabitants of northern cities into more frequent contacts with Negroes, and has drawn public notice to their presence as they have become increasingly numerous and evident on the streets, in transportation, in stores, parks and libraries, and in the schools and residential districts. The whole question of race relations and attitudes has become of more conscious and immediate importance to northern white people than ever before. In many cases the reaction of whites has been the emotional one of strengthened prejudice and antipathy, and, in general, throughout the North there has been an increase of race feeling and discrimination against the Negroes as a result of this growth in their numbers. Various cities which formerly made no distinctions on the basis of race now furnish numerous instances of a desire to separate the Negroes, or at least to make a differentiation in the sort of treatment accorded them. Instead of leading to a stronger personal interest in each other and to greater friendliness and understanding, these more numerous contacts in northern cities have tended to increase the distance between the races.

> In some cities, such as Columbus, Ohio, this increased feeling is slight and has apparently not resulted in pro-

nounced antagonism.[1] Yet, in the majority of cases, students of Negro problems find that " With the migration of a large number of Negroes to northern cities, there have been tendencies indicating that wherever Negroes are numerous enough to impress themselves upon the community, disturbing race prejudice develops." [2] Similarly, Johnson concludes that " With few exceptions, the increased proportion of Negroes in the total population of cities of the North tends to increase adverse sentiment," [3] and Woofter likewise states "In areas gaining by migration, prejudice seems, at least temporarily, to assume its most aggravated form." [4] Both the Chicago Commission and the Detroit Bureau of Research found that in each city the attitude of whites had changed toward the entire Negro group, both former inhabitants and newcomers, as a result of the growth of Negro population during the migration.[5] The Pennsylvania survey reported: " In dealing with her increased Negro population, Pennsylvania does not seem to have profited by the failure of the South to solve the race problem, but rather seems inclined to copy the ' accommodation ' methods of the South and is beginning to introduce segregation and discrimination in various forms in public life." [6] In Michigan " With each inroad made by the Negro into the industries, into residential districts, and their more noticeable presence in public places, distaste, resentment, and bitterness, each in turn, became reflected in the utterances and actions of the hitherto agreeably passive white man." [7]

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[1] See Bibliography, reference 81 (a), pp. 26-7.

[2] Reference 156 (b), p. 538.

[3] Reference 57 (f), p. 325.

[4] Reference 157 (c), p. 167.

[5] References 17 (a), p. 273 and section on housing; 22 (a), sec. ii, p. 20.

[6] Reference 110 (a), p. 85.

[7] References 70 (a), p. 232. *Cf.* 93 (a), p. 177; 111 (a); 46 (d), p. 73; 124 (a), pp. 136, 107-8; 120 (a), p. 527; 29 (a), pp. 63-9.

This increasing tendency toward discrimination is not, however, associated with all phases of relations between whites and blacks, since northern cities do not—yet, at least—maintain the strict racial separation which prevails in the South. The extent to which the growth of colored population has tended to generate prejudice and antagonism varies according to the nature of the contacts involved. In such public places as libraries the North makes practically no distinctions on the basis of color, and there the relationships are usually matter-of-fact and unattended by friction. Most of the contacts which have been free from growing prejudice are those in which relations are impersonal and casual. More frequent mingling of the races in transportation has often crystallized individual feelings of prejudice and dislike but, in general, has produced few serious clashes. This type of mixing is particularly important because the two groups are inevitably thrown together (since there is neither legal nor physical provision for race separation on northern transportation systems). Also, it is sometimes only under such circumstances that the whites and blacks come near each other, so that many whites tend to judge the Negroes entirely on the basis of these chance encounters.

Previous chapters have pointed out the trend toward increased race feeling and discrimination which has appeared in the housing situation, in industrial contacts, in the schools and recreational centers of northern cities. Thus, throughout the North Negroes mingle with whites more freely than they do in the South; in the more impersonal relations there are practically no distinctions but other forms of association have frequently aroused ill feeling and hostility.

> Both white and colored students of conditions among northern Negroes and individual investigators of specific cities unite in pointing out the increase in race prejudice and discrimination which has resulted in the North from

the more frequent contacts between the races since the migration. In discussing the effects of these northward movements, George E. Haynes remarks that "the reaction of public opinion seems to have become one of our foremost problems. For instance, anyone would have been considered an alarmist twenty years ago had he predicted that public opinion would allow 58 Negro homes in Chicago to be bombed with impunity as increasing numbers forced Negro residents to spread beyond the areas where they had formerly lived. Race riots and outrages in East St. Louis, Omaha, Chicago and Washington paralyzed these cities for days and shocked the nation."[1] Similar conclusions are found in the statement that "the movement has increased prejudice in the North, strengthened the tendency to draw the color line and the tendency on the part of colored leaders to resent discrimination. This has in some instances culminated in riots."[2] Surveys of the situation in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Dayton, Chicago and the states of Pennsylvania and Michigan report this tendency toward increased segregation and differentiation. For example, it has been maintained that in Dayton, Ohio, "the colored people before the migration could go unquestioned into any place of amusement and be served to any usual public accommodation. But when five Negroes came instead of one, the erstwhile liberal-minded people began to make the natural mistake of trying to get rid of a problem instead of facing and solving it."[3] In a study which was made of recreational facilities in northern cities it was found that "in the 40 northern cities (studied) . . . there is some form of segregation practiced in connection with the Negro and public recreation in at least two-thirds of their number. . . . (In regard to private recreation) in only 5 of the 40 northern cities have Negroes been admitted to settlements

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[1] Reference 46 (d), p. 73.

[2] Reference 111 (a), p. 1.

[3] Reference 113 (a), p. 603.

> with representatives of other racial groups. Even in these cities the handling of the Negro patrons has been considered somewhat of a problem. . . . Of the 40 cities, 33 had some segregation in connection with movie theaters—24 in connection with picture-vaudeville houses, 19 in connection with amusement parks, and 26 in connection with legitimate theaters."[1]

The Chicago Race Commission has made a careful study of the nature and results of the increased contacts which followed the rush of southern Negroes to Chicago. Since this report presents the most exhaustive analysis of the subject that has so far been made, it is used here as the principal illustration of the effect of migration upon race relations. The situation in Chicago may be taken as indicative of the condition of interracial contacts in most northern cities which received large numbers of migrants, for though no other survey has made such a comprehensive study of this situation as did the Chicago Commission, the brief studies which have been made indicate similar trends. Were similar reports available for other northern cities, it would be valuable and interesting to compare conditions in various localities; in the absence of such material the Chicago study presents a significant picture of what has probably occurred, in greater or less degree, throughout the North since the recent influx of colored laborers.

> Many neighborhoods in Chicago revealed a strong determination to exclude the Negroes and draw the color line by streets or districts. In the industrial field Negroes were still discriminated against in promotions, occupations and ability to become union members. Legally and openly, Chicago provided for no segregation in the public schools but actually and indirectly there were at least occasional

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[1] References 150 (c) pp. 275-7. *Cf.* 157 (d), part iv; 110 (a), pp. 53-6, 89; 22 (a), sec. ii, sec. vii.

evidences of discrimination in regard to enrolling pupils, transfers and in the equipment and physical condition of school buildings largely given over to colored children. In sections of the city containing large numbers of Negroes the theaters, restaurants, stores, barber shops and public service places accommodated both Negroes and whites, but the Commission found a very decided discrimination against the Negroes in parts of the city where whites predominated. Negroes who investigated the situation for the Commission reported their inability to secure service in many white restaurants and lunch rooms; the various humiliations and annoyances to which they were subjected revealed the proprietors' determination to exclude colored patrons. It was discovered that theaters and moving picture houses tried to seat colored people in certain sections, principally in the balcony, and did not always accord them the same treatment as that given white people. Most of the stores apparently served the Negroes courteously and without prejudice, although there were instances of discrimination and opposition in this field. Segregation of the races in public parks and beaches was usually unofficial but an actual fact in many cases. The young children tended to mingle without distinction or friction but in places used by older children and adults the Negroes were often given to understand that they were not wanted. Sometimes they were terrorized by gangs of boys and, as a result, did not make use of public recreational facilities or merely used the meager provisions allotted to colored people. In transportation and in cultural institutions there were no evident discriminations. The Commission concluded from its intensive survey that "Negroes in Illinois are legally entitled to all the rights and privileges of other citizens. Actually, however, their participation in public benefits in practically every field is limited by some circumvention of the law."[1]

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[1] Reference 17 (a), p. 614; (Housing, pp. 115-116, 108; Industry, p. 391; Schools, pp. 614, 242-4; Public Places, pp. 309-311, 318, 320; Recreation, pp. 277, 296-7; Transportation, p. 299).

Antagonism between the races has at times become sufficiently strong to break out in overt acts of hostility and violence. Many of these open expressions of intense dislike have resulted from housing troubles, as was shown in Chapter VIII, and have taken the form of intimidating letters and bombing of Negro houses.[1]

In several northern cities the contacts between colored and white people became so hostile that actual race riots occurred. Most of the riots have grown out of similar underlying situations, although, of course, the immediate inciting causes have varied. At times the riot has been due almost entirely to the resentment of white workers over the introduction of Negroes as strike breakers. Friction has frequently started over the attempted residential expansion of the colored people. In addition, Negroes have usually been limited to the poorest districts where they have come into contact with the lowest class of white inhabitants, among whom open acts of violence more quickly occur. Once started, these riots have been characterized by a rapidly mounting flame of race hatred which swept away all reason, tolerance and human feeling. During the progress of these conflicts the everyday business of the cities was stopped, property was destroyed and many lives lost, while the resulting intensification of race prejudice tended to widen the gulf between the races.

> The situations which arose in East St. Louis and Chicago illustrate the growth and outbreak of race prejudice which occasionally followed the increase of Negro population in the North. The riot in the former city has already been mentioned in Chapter V. That which raged in Chicago from July 27 to August 2, 1919, was a particularly serious outbreak of race friction. Since the beginning of the migration during the war, Chicago had been one of the

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[1] References 53 (b); 17 (a), pp. 122-3, 134; 93 (a), p. 177; 152 (b); 157 (d), p. 73; 57 (d), p. 409.

chief points of attraction to southern Negroes and had received a vast number of the migrants. It has already been shown that the rapid increase of the colored population led to more frequent and more emotionally fraught contacts between the Negroes and whites. Colored and white laborers were thrown into closer relationships in the industrial world and came into keener competition for employment. On the whole, however, the industrial contacts of the two races in Chicago did not result in serious hostility. The housing situation furnished more dangerous potentialities of race friction. As the migrants poured into Chicago, the growing colored population could not possibly find living space in the districts which had been occupied by Negroes before 1915. Inevitably they overflowed into adjoining white neighborhoods, thereby arousing the intense opposition of the white inhabitants. A great deal of friction resulted from this housing situation, leading to various forms of intimidation of the Negroes and even to numerous bombings. The political situation added further difficulties, as the colored vote had been an important factor in the recent election and had caused much resentment and bitterness among the whites. Moreover, the activities of gangs of hoodlums had done much to increase the tension between the races. Members of these gangs had frequently assaulted Negroes in public parks and playgrounds, at bathing beaches and even on the streets. Various near riots had occurred when Negroes had been murdered or seriously injured as they were going to or from work. Such occurrences were played up by the press of both races and sensational propaganda in the white and colored newspapers had heightened the opposition and ill feeling. In the weeks preceding the riot, trouble between Negroes and whites had been frequent in public places of recreation, and five weeks earlier, two Negroes had been assaulted without provocation and murdered by some of the gangs. Thus there was a general background of tension, bitterness and hostility in the racial contacts before the riot.

The trouble started on Sunday afternoon, July 27th, when a Negro boy who was swimming at one of the beaches was stoned by white men, and drowned. This beach was used by both races and tension was already high that afternoon as the result of various minor clashes between the Negroes and the whites. The Negroes immediately assumed that the boy had drowned as a result of being hit by stones and charged a certain white man with the crime. They also demanded that he be arrested by a white policeman who was present. The policeman's refusal aroused much resentment among the Negroes and feeling on both sides became intense. That evening reports and rumors circulated rapidly, crowds gathered at various places and much violence was perpetrated against the Negroes. The next afternoon as the colored laborers were returning from work, they were attacked and pulled from street cars, beaten, stabbed and shot. Negro districts were raided by men who rode through the streets in automobiles and shot at random. A reign of terror prevailed, in which the "Athletic Clubs" and gangs figured prominently; the Race Commission later reported that the mobs were composed largely of boys between fifteen and twenty-two years of age. On Wednesday, the militia was called in and by Friday, the trouble had ceased. As a result of the riot, thirty-eight persons, fifteen white and twenty-three Negroes, were killed, 537 injured and about 1,000 rendered homeless and destitute.[1]

Other northern cities have had outbreaks which were more or less similar. It is sometimes held that race riots are merely forms of a labor struggle but complex factors usually underlie such friction. Rapid growth of the colored group causes a sudden and unaccustomed increase in the contacts between the races. Problems of housing, industry, politics and social relations result and an emotional tension is soon aroused. Then some inciting cause occurs at the psychological moment and the riot is on. As Reuter says: " With the proper background of prejudice and sentiment, any incident may precipitate a racial war." [2]

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[1] Reference 17 (a), chs. i, ii.

Most northern cities have not experienced such open and violent conflicts as occurred in East St. Louis and Chicago. It has been several years since the last instance of marked violence and it is possible that the two races are becoming more adapted to each other. However, one wonders what may result if the present period of unemployment with its increased economic competition should continue for any length of time. The growth of colored population through migration has already tended to strengthen indirect forms of discrimination against Negroes and to increase race feeling and antipathy among many northern white people. In view of the extent of the migration to northern cities which previously had had comparatively few Negro inhabitants, the number of violent outbreaks of race antagonism are not numerous, but such riots as have occurred call attention to the seriousness of those tensions, misunderstandings and prejudices which underlie seemingly casual and unimportant contacts and which are apparently increasing among northerners as a result of the influx of Negroes.

MIGRANT AND NORTHERN NEGROES

The preceding section has shown that the arrival of large numbers of southern Negroes tended to increase the race prejudice of whites in northern cities and, consequently, to strengthen policies of segregation and discrimination. As a rule, white people are prone to class all Negroes together instead of reacting to them on the basis of their individual

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[1] Reference 119 (a), p. 419.

merits; hence the northern Negroes were subjected to the same racial distinctions that confronted the newly arrived migrants. In many northern cities the native colored inhabitants had been accustomed to a large measure of freedom and equality in participating in the public and educational life of the town. With the coming of the migrants, these northern Negroes found themselves being differentiated from other inhabitants on account of their color and felt the barriers of dislike and prejudice strengthening against them. Inevitably many of them were inclined to hold the migrants responsible for these increasing social restrictions and tended to resent the influx of other blacks, many of whom were inferior in education and culture to the northern Negroes and most of whom were unaccustomed to northern standards of living and modes of conduct. There are various indications that numbers of northern Negroes did not eagerly welcome the migrants but, instead, sought to keep aloof from them. In many instances the resentment was probably only a temporary first reaction; so few facts are known concerning the extent and permanence of this feeling, that no statements as to its duration can be made.

> Several students of the migration have been impressed by the problems created for northern Negroes by the arrival of the migrants. The Pennsylvania survey concluded that "the Negro natives of the State . . . have lost a number of social privileges as a result of the migration of thousands of their color into Pennsylvania" and that "the migrant is not always welcomed by his more fortunate fellows."[1] For example, Philadelphia "had long possessed a relatively small population of Negroes of culture, education and some financial means. [They had always enjoyed the same social and educational facilities as the whites and courteous treatment from them. But, with

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[1] Reference 110 (a), pp. 89, 88.

the increase in population by a group of generally uneducated and untrained persons, these privileges were withdrawn. . . . The old colored citizens of Philadelphia resented this, placed the blame at the migrant's door and stood aloof from him. Negro preachers invited the new arrivals into the church but many of the congregation made him know that he was not wanted. In some cases the church split over the matter, the migrants and their sympathizers withdrawing and forming a church for themselves."[1] In Milwaukee, also, there were, at first, indications of aloofness and a separation of the two classes of colored people.[2] Investigators of the situation in Detroit reported that the "old Detroiters" held the migrants responsible for their altered status in that city, for the whites had tended to increase the discriminations against all Negroes since the influx of southern colored people. Negroes who had been in Detroit for generations had frequently been servants in the homes of white people and had developed friendly contacts with them. Also, they were much better educated and adjusted to northern ways than were the newcomers. On the basis of these factors, a class line tended to develop between the old and new Detroiters, especially as many of the latter resented the attitude of the older inhabitants. The investigators felt, however, that more friendly contacts had been established as the migrants became permanently settled in the city and adjusted to urban life. The various colored classes based on cultural and professional interests have apparently accepted without restriction those who had similar interests and training.[3]

It must not be assumed that northern Negroes were actively hostile to the migrants or universally resentful of their presence. As would have occurred in any group, individual members of the older colored population reacted to the influx in a variety of ways. Many of them were earnestly desirous of aiding the newcomers in their task of adjustment to a new environment and were glad to see them coming to new industrial opportunities and to greater social freedom. Negro churches were active in assisting the migrants and various Negro organizations were formed among the older residents for the purpose of looking after the southern Negroes.[1] Thus, contrasting attitudes of resentment and friendly cooperation were evident among the northern Negro groups.

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[1] References 93 (a), p. 177. *Cf.* 124 (a), p. 136.

[2] Reference 124 (a), p. 112.

[3] References 22 (a), sec. ii, pp. 19-20. *Cf.* 46 (f), p. 10; 117 (a), p. 539; 81 (a), p. 10.

It is also possible that class distinctions have been increased among the colored people in the North because of the rapid growth of the Negro population and the consequent increasing complexity of their economic, educational and cultural life. Economic groups have probably differentiated to some extent in conformity to the differing occupations of common laborer, domestic, skilled worker, business or professional men, and social distinctions have arisen from differences of education, wealth and standards of living. However, this is largely supposition because intensive surveys of class distinctions among Negroes in the North are still non-existent.

> A few suggestions as to the probable trend toward greater class differences are seen in one or two reports of investigations. The Detroit Bureau found evidence of tentative class lines being drawn on the basis of residence, culture and professions.[2] The Pennsylvania survey reported " no great dividing line in Negro social classes based on income " but indications of a great deal of difference in culture with a concomitant feeling of superiority among

[1] References 124 (a), p. 164; 93 (a), p. 176.

[2] Reference 22 (a), sec. ii, pp. 19-20.

the group of better-educated northern Negroes.[1] Careful investigation of this problem in various northern cities would be valuable.

One of the best known leaders of the race has well summarized the entire situation of the northern Negroes:

> "The position of this group is not strong economically or socially. Its security depends largely upon the non-agitation of the race problem. If racial differences are not emphasized by newspapers or by new facts the northern Negro becomes gradually a citizen judged by his individual deserts and abilities. If, however, there comes a sudden new migration, the level of intelligence and efficiency in these newcomers is almost inevitably below that of the Negro already established in the North. Public opinion lumps the new with the old without discrimination. New racial irritation, hatreds and segregation arise. . . . The northern Negro, therefore, faces a peculiar dilemma. He knows that his southern brother will and must migrate just as he himself migrated either in this generation or the last. He feels more or less acutely his own duty to help the newcomer. . . . But, on the other hand, the black northerner knows what this migration costs." [2]

The Negro in the North may sympathetically understand and even welcome the arrival of the southern colored laborers but at the same time, he realizes that their coming means increased economic competition for the limited positions open to Negroes, increased discriminations and segregation, and a lowering of the average culture and education of the Negro group. The migration has thus not only increased the frequency and complexity of the contacts between Negroes and whites in northern cities but has likewise affected relationships within the Negro group itself. However, further studies are needed before any reliable opinions can be expressed concerning the full extent and permanency of the effect of migration upon northern Negroes.

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[1] Reference 110 (a), pp. 10-11.

[2] References 27 (a), p. 540. *Cf.* 156 (a), pp. 186-7.

WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

Many of the social and welfare agencies, religious organizations and civic federations of these cities have enlarged their activities in order to assist the southern migrants in making a satisfactory adjustment to their new environment. In some cases, special committees and agencies were organized for the express purpose of meeting the needs of the growing colored population, and in various cities, social, civic and religious associations have united to carry on welfare work among the migrants. As was earlier shown, many of the northern Negro churches increased their extra-religious activities by establishing employment agencies and various committees to help the newcomers with their financial, housing, and other personal problems. In some cities, too, white and colored representatives of churches, clubs and social agencies formed interracial committees to further friendly cooperation and understanding between the white and colored residents. Local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the Interracial Commission have been particularly active in matters of race adjustment. Thus, in all sorts of ways the activities of many social and welfare organizations in the North were influenced by the migration of southern Negroes.[1]

> For example, in Chicago neighborhood associations were formed in some districts to secure better cooperation between the colored and white inhabitants, or to improve sanitary and moral conditions.[2] In Philadelphia several

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[1] References 17 (a), pp. 146-7, 192-4; 110 (a), chs. xi, xii; 46 (d), pp. 72-5; 48 (e), p. 322; 150 (d), pp. 334-5.

[2] Reference 17 (a), pp. 192-3.

organizations united in helping the migrants find work and suitable homes; representatives of the Philadelphia Housing Association, the Armstrong Association, The Travelers Aid, the Philadelphia Academy of Medicine and other agencies all joined in trying to ease the newcomers' difficult task of adjustment to a northern urban environment, by giving them information concerning residential districts, industrial opportunities and health requirements, and by financially aiding those who needed such help.[1] The Welfare Federation of Cleveland has supervised the organization of committees which deal with problems of housing, labor, health, and general welfare among migrants. Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Detroit have similar agencies which have either originated as a result of the migration, or have enlarged the scope of their activities in order to care for the migrants.[2]

The National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes has been one of the most active agencies in meeting the problems created by the migration, and its work illustrates the type of activities that were called forth by the influx of Negroes. In many cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit, the League has had committees to improve the housing situation. Investigations of colored housing problems have been made, civic authorities and large industrial establishments have been approached in the effort to provide better living conditions for the colored group, and the migrants have been assisted in finding the best possible dwellings. Another important line of work carried on by the League has been the campaigns of assimilation. Committees have met the migrants at the stations, assisted them in finding homes and employment and given them instruction concerning clothing, food and standards of conduct expected of them in the North.

[1] References 93 (a), p. 177; 124 (a), pp. 137-8.

[2] References 46 (d), p. 73; 145 (d), pp. 152-3; 124 (a), pp. 103, 121, 137-8, 164.

> Other workers have visited the homes of the migrants in order to educate the newcomers in the health and living requirements of a northern urban existence, and have encouraged them in keeping their houses and neighborhoods clean and respectable, in sending their children to school, and in maintaining an inconspicuous deportment in public places.[1]

In various ways and in varying degrees many of the social, religious and welfare organizations in northern cities responded to the problems which resulted from the northward movement of colored people by increasing the nature and extent of their activities. Likewise, new organizations were created to meet the needs of Negroes who were not being cared for by existing agencies, either because such needs were outside the scope of established organizations or because Negroes were not served by the white groups or because the growth of the colored population necessitated separate agencies. It is true that much remained to be done in the way of meeting the problems created by the migration, and by no means all of the social organizations made any attempt to cope with the effects of this influx. In spite of these facts, however, many of the northern welfare agencies were profoundly influenced by the arrival of southern Negroes.

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[1] References 124 (a), p. 104; 17 (a), pp. 193-4, 146-7; 145 (d), pp. 23, 152-5; 32 (a), p. 68; 151 (a), p. 288; 150 (d), p. 334; 10 (b), p. 348.

SECTION III

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

THE movements of Negroes within the United States have been only one phase of the perpetual ebb and flow of human kind. In the days of slavery colored workers were shifted from one state or county to another, wherever they were most useful; since the close of the Civil War there has continued to be a constant flux of the Negro population, with the tide turning most strongly in the direction of the greatest demand for their labor. It has been shown in previous chapters that this call for colored workers came with unusual insistency from the cities of the North during the World War period, and as a direct response, hordes of southern Negroes began to flock to those northern centers. Instead of being held on the land by lack of economic opportunity in other directions, colored wage earners were able to leave the rural districts and join the present-day urban trend.

The desire to leave the southern farms was all the stronger because this demand for industrial workers in the North came at a time of agricultural depression, when the Negroes' chief occupation, raising cotton, was beset with hardships and threatened with extinction by the spread of the boll weevil. Apprehension over their economic difficulties was accompanied by an increasing discussion of the social restrictions which surround Negroes in the South, and when these factors were strengthened by reports of opportunities in the North, the scene was set for a northward trek of southern Negroes of unprecedented proportions. Consequently, they forsook the farms and cities of the South in order to take the industrial jobs formerly filled by foreign immigrant labor. Inevitably the economic and social life of the northern cities was distinctly affected by this rapid increase of a population group which heretofore had played an inconspicuous part in their urban activities.

The arrival of colored laborers from the South enabled northern industries to carry on production at unslackened rate during the war and afterwards. At the same time, these movements required the conversion of Negro agriculturalists into industrial workers. Negroes are still mainly confined to the unskilled and more poorly paid positions, but at least the variety of occupations open to them has been decidedly increased, and there has been a significant addition to the number performing skilled and semi-skilled tasks. The growth in the size of colored groups in northern cities has also opened up new opportunities for Negro business and professional men, who are thus enabled to secure adequate clienteles among their own race. Colored women have shared to some extent in these new industrial openings, but their status is still uncertain and their advance out of domestic service into industry has seldom equalled the transference of colored males into the industrial field.

In many establishments colored employees have been partially segregated in particular occupations instead of being scattered among the white workers, yet colored and white laborers have been brought into closer contact by the migration and have worked together with comparatively little serious friction. Northern unions, too, have been forced to take more cognizance of the colored wage earners; occasionally they have included the newcomers in their membership and have sought to organize them, but to date, as a rule, the locals have shown a spirit of opposition rather than of welcome. The gulf between organized labor and the Negro workers has become more apparent and serious, for northern locals continue to discriminate against colored men in spite of the fact that their more conspicuous presence increases the possibility of their being used as substitutes for white workers in times of labor difficulties. Notwithstanding the handicaps involved in the opposition of unions and in the Negroes' industrial inexperience, as a group they have apparently given satisfaction in their new work, especially after they have had reasonable time in which to make the adjustment from simple agricultural processes to the complex operations of modern industry.

Compared with other groups, the Negro is still handicapped by limitation of economic opportunities and discrimination in the matter of employment and advancement. In general, however, migration from the South has resulted in real improvement in the colored laborer's economic situation, for he has a wider choice of occupations and usually secures higher wages than he did in the South. Unlike previous movements to the North, those since 1915 have occurred in response to a definite demand for labor, and on account of this unprecedented economic opportunity, Negroes have made their first real entrance into the industrial world of the North.

This influx of southern Negroes has also created serious problems of housing, health, crime, education, politics and race contacts. The whole social structure of northern cities has been in some degree affected by the migration, for with every increase in the size of the colored groups, the social conditions existing among them have tended to exert more and more influence upon the corresponding conditions among the white people. Thus, as the congestion in Negro areas has increased, the white inhabitants of the city have felt the results both in a strengthened race prejudice, which followed attempts of colored people to find homes in other neighborhoods, and also in the extent of crime, juvenile delinquency and immorality, which have inevitably accompanied such unwholesome and overcrowded living conditions.

On the other hand, the migrants have faced the problem of finding suitable homes and of adjusting themselves to urban life in the North, a process of adaptation which has involved learning to maintain health standards in crowded cities, becoming acquainted with urban laws and regulations, fitting their children into northern school systems, and finding satisfactory provisions for amusement and recreation. One of the most serious effects of these increased race contacts has been a noticeable tendency on the part of whites toward discrimination against Negroes and toward segregation in schools, amusement centers and public places. This mounting prejudice with its emotional barriers of suspicion and antagonism has been applied to Negroes who had long been established in the North as well as to the migrants, so that the former have frequently felt an augmented restriction in their social activities. At the same time it has lessened the ability of white northerners to think clearly and impartially on race problems.

Although Negroes in northern cities are not accorded the full measure of freedom and opportunity of the whites, yet it must not be overlooked that migration has tended to improve the social, as well as the economic, status of the newcomers. They have found decidedly better schools than they had ever been accustomed to; they have gained the right to vote and to feel themselves a part of the community; they have free access to libraries, museums and, in some degree, to public parks and recreational centers; they have been brought under the influence of organized health programs and sanitary inspection, and in many cases, even, they have found homes which are at least a little better than those they left in the South. In spite of the higher cost of living and the difficulties of adaptation to a totally new environment, there seems to have been, as a rule, a real advance in the migrant's standard of living.

The foregoing are some of the important economic and social situations in the North which have been affected by the arrival of large numbers of southern Negroes. This movement to northern cities was not confined to the abnormal war period, but has continued during the last decade, and undoubtedly will persist for years to come. Comprehensive and reliable figures concerning the extent of these movements of the last few years will not be available until the 1930 census statistics are at hand, but it is certain that the period from 1920 to 1930 has witnessed a decided increase in the number of Negroes living in northern cities. The forthcoming Census is also awaited for general information concerning occupations and for population figures on which to estimate vital statistics among Negroes. On the basis of past experience, it is probable that there will be a lag of from two to four years in the availability of this material, so that discussions of the Negro's economic and social status in the North must continue to be based on assumptions of estimated trends and on a synthesis of isolated surveys.

It is probable that the next Census will show not only large numbers of migrants but also a change in the Negro's industrial status, compared to that of 1920, for recent investigations indicate that there has been a shift of colored workers from industry back to domestic and personal service. It is unlikely, however, that they have returned to their occupational status of 1910, and much of the industrial loss which will probably be indicated may be due in great part to the present business depression, which provides a situation as abnormal as was the very active business period at the time the 1920 Census was taken. The rate of population increase among Negroes in the North should show an upward trend, since the migrants have become more adjusted to urban health conditions, and since the proportion of the sexes has had time to become equalized. As women begin to follow the men and a more normal family life is established, we should expect an increased birth rate.

These are only two of the trends which may be apparent from the 1930 census figures. Others in connection with such problems as the age, sex and marital status, and the educational situation among the colored inhabitants, will also be available. However, a complete understanding of the economic and social situation of Negroes in the North can never be obtained simply from census statistics, but must be supplemented by investigations of particular groups and cities. It is to be hoped that further surveys will base their studies on an examination of what has already been done, and will strive to fill up many apparent gaps. It is unfortunate that, so far, surveys of Negro groups in northern cities have done little in the way of securing a "control" study by investigating conditions among the whites or by specifically and intensively comparing conditions in the North with those which the migrants had experienced in their previous southern homes. Much remains to be done along both of these lines.

The problem of housing conditions has already received extensive treatment, and future studies would do well to emphasize either particular phases of the housing situation or other, less well-known conditions. It is agreed that Negroes in the North live in the less desirable and more congested areas, and are unwelcome in white districts. We do need to know what causes the economic factor of property depreciation, and we also need investigation as to how the housing difficulties are solving themselves since the migrants have had time to become adjusted and since Negro areas have had opportunity to expand.

In view of the fact that the manifestations of disease, crime and immorality among colored groups are affected by their age, sex and marital status, consideration of these factors should be included in discussions of the health situation and the crime rate among Negroes. Moreover, problems of crime, health, and housing, are so closely allied to the economic standing of the race that we need more emphasis upon the relation between them. It would also be valuable to make a closer distinction between northern and southern Negroes in the study of occupations, success in industry, and relation to the unions.[1] Negroes are by no means a homogeneous mass with identical capacity, training and personality, and their differences should be more fully considered in future investigations.

Above all, future studies of the Negro's status in the North would do well to seek a basis for understanding the factors which are involved in the formation of public opinion in regard to race relations. The Chicago Race Commission has made a valuable beginning in such investigations and further surveys of this type are desirable. Are Negroes being thrown into more intimate and friendly contacts with the whites than they were in the South, so that there is opportunity for the development of understanding and tolerance between the races, or are they being separated from white people by a growing spirit of discrimination and antagonism, and by segregation? There are indications that the North is seeking adjustment to the presence of a large colored population by the method of separation and inequality which prevails in the South. It is necessary to have more exact information concerning the nature of the contacts between whites and blacks in northern cities and the factors which have led to the evidences of race prejudice which have already appeared.

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[1] Considerable progress in this direction has been made by Spero and Harris, and by the National Urban League.

All too frequently in the past the attitudes and opinions of northern white people have been based on insufficient knowledge, and have contained the dogmatic finality which accompanies emotional bias—antagonistic or sentimentally sympathetic. Conditions which are conspicuously prevalent among colored groups have been dismissed as due to inherent racial characteristics: the Negro's absence from industrial positions and labor unions is regarded as the result of his unfitness for anything but menial labor and of his inability to organize; a high rate of crime and immorality is explained as an ineradicable Negro trait; retardation in schools is assumed to be the consequence of the Negro's natural intellectual inferiority; congested, unsanitary housing conditions are attributed to the colored man's inherent gregariousness and uncleanliness. If a study of the surveys which have been made among Negro groups in the North does nothing else, it points out clearly the complex factors which are involved in all these situations. Fundamentally, the Negro's problems are based on his economic condition, and the first real step toward improving his lot in regard to education, crime, health and housing, must lie in giving him economic opportunity comparable to the white man's and a chance to earn a decent wage.

The constantly increasing presence of colored people in our northern cities constitutes one of the most vital present-day sociological problems. At all times the activities and developmental processes of a group are profoundly influenced by the size of that group and by the characteristics of its members. The migration of colored people is affecting the extent and composition of the social aggregate in northern centers, and results in the augmented interaction of two population elements that are likely to be swayed by prejudice and attitudes acquired unconsciously and unintelligently. If the North is to attain a more satisfactory adjustment between the races than has been evolved in the South, there is need for tolerance, understanding and unbiased information.

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[1] A few references from Part A have been omitted because they were too general to classify, furnishing merely a background for the study of migration, or were partial repetitions of material already cited.

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(3) Social Causes

(a) Political Situation

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(b) Mob Violence

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(c) Discrimination in Court Procedure

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(d) Segregation

See references:

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See references:

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(b) Appeals of the Negro Press

See references:

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(c) Effect of Returned Migrants

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(d) Letters from Migrants

See references:

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(e) Pressure of Public Opinion

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(1) Success of the Negro Worker

See references:

1(a), p. 620; 4(a), pp. 8-9, 14-5, 21-5; 5(a), p. 317; 6(a), pp. 82-6; 16(a), p. 109; 17(a), pp. 372-8, 400; 22(a), sec. iii; 32(a), pp. 32-3; 35(a), pp. 126-7; 40(a); 43(a), p. 733; 44(b), p. 27; 46(a), pp. 300-3; 46(d), pp. 69-70; 46(f), pp. 17, 19; 46(j), pp. 29-31; 56(a); 57(d), pp. 407-8; 57(g), p. 302; 57(i), p. 17; 57(j), pp. 237-8; 57(n), p. 325; 57(r), p. 140; 60(a), p. 384; 65(a), pp. 56-7; 69(a), p. 103; 88(b), p. 313; 91(a), p. 892; 96(a); 102(a), pp. 9-10; 111(a), p. 2; 115(a), p. 836; 117(a), p. 534; 119(a), pp. 241-2; 120(a), p. 526; 124(a), pp. 125, 130; 127(a), pp. 202-5; 129(a), pp. 337-9; 145(c), pp. 42-4, 93, 117; 145(d), pp. 13, 109; 145(g); 149(a), p. 262; 151(a), pp. 296-7, 303; 152(a); 154(a); 157(a), pp. 51, 105-6; 157(b), p. 420; 157(c), p. 157.

(2) Labor Turnover

See references:

1(a), p. 621; 4(a), p. 25; 5(a), p. 317; 17(a), p. 377; 22(a), sec. iii; 32(a), pp. 21, 34; 35(a), p. 126; 43(a), p. 735; 102(a), p. 10; 110(a), p. 39; 111(a); 124(a), p. 117; 132(a), p. 42; 145(d), pp. 122-4, 150; 151(a), p. 303; 157(a), p. 106.

(3) Other Aspects of Success

See references:

1(a), p. 621; 10(a), p. 173; 17(a), pp. 372-3; 22(a), sec. iii, p. 19; 32(a), p. 34; 35(a), p. 126; 43(a), pp. 733-4; 46(a), p. 302; 46(f), pp. 18, 34; 46(h), p. 460; 68(a); 124(a), pp. 115, 125, 130; 132(a), p. 42; 145(c), pp. 12-3, 19-21; 145(d), pp. 127, 151-3; 150(d), p. 334.

(4) Success of Negro Women

See references:

17(a), pp. 380-5, 625; 129(a), p. 338; 145(g); 151(a), pp. 303

(5) Retention of Negroes in Industry

See references:

17(a), pp. 402-3, 626-7; 18(a); 22(a), sec. iii, pp. 6-7; 48(a); 48(e), p. 325; 57(j); 57(k); 96(a); 104(b), pp. 11-15; 110(a), p. 17; 137(a); 151(a), pp. 304-5.

7. Composition — Age, Sex, and Marital Condition — of Negro Groups

See references:

17(a), p. 93; 22(a), sec. ii, pp. 6-10; 32(a), pp. 18-9; 38(a), pp. 28-9; 44(b), p. 14; 57(a), p. 718; 57(g), p. 300; 63(a), p. 113; 81(a), pp. 35-7; 118(a); 119(a), pp. 51-5, 209-11; 120(a), p. 525; 157(c), pp. 149, 152, 171; 157(d), p. 34.

8. Housing

(1) Segregation

See references:

3(a), p. 532; 14(a), pp. 105, 108, 112-5; 17(a), pp. 106, 114-36, 194-6, 606-12; 22(a), sec. v; 32(a), pp. 7, 16; 44(b), p. 14; 46(f), pp. 9-10; 46(h), p. 460; 53(b); 57(g), pp. 299-300; 57(r), p. 140; 63(a); 65(a), p. 94; 80(a); 81(a), pp. 11-27; 93(a), p. 177; 110(a), p. 31; 119(a), p. 219; 124(a), pp. 104-6; 127(a), pp. 212-5; 151(a), p. 287; 152(b), pp. 125-9; 154(a); 156(a), pp. 179-80; 157(d), pp. 19, 69-73, 75-7.

(2) Deterioration of Property Values

See references

14(a), pp. 113-4; 17(a), pp. 194-215, 608-10; 22(a), sec. v, pp. 25-32; 40(a); 63(a), pp. 65, 78-80; 65(a), p. 95; 81(a), pp. 27-9; 110(a), pp. 39-40; 119(a), p. 219; 154(a); 157(d), pp. 74-5.

(3) Housing Conditions

See references

2(a), pp. 7-9; 3(a), p. 532; 10(a), p. 172; 10(b), p. 347; 14(a), pp. 108-9, 114; 16(a), p. 179; 17(a), pp. 93, 106, 152-94, 209; 22(a), sec. v; 28(a); 29(a), pp. 22-4, 83; 31(a), p. 557; 32(a), pp. 8, 11-18; 40(a); 43(a), pp. 735-6; 44(b), p. 17; 46(d), p. 71; 46(f), p. 21; 46(h), p. 460; 54(a); 57(d), p. 409; 57(f), p. 325; 57(g), p. 301; 57(r), p. 140; 58(a); 62(b), p. 970; 63(a); 65(a), p. 94; 70(b), p. 206; 77(a); 80(a); 81(a), pp. 46-7, 51-63; 90(a), pp. 18-9; 92(a); 93(a), pp. 175, 194-6, 205, 217; 94(b), chap. 6; 100(a); 104(c); 104(d);

105(a), index; 105(b); 109(a), p. 571; 110(a), pp. 31-6; 112(a); 114(a), p. 3; 115(a), p. 836; 118(a); 118(d); 119(a), pp. 219-20; 120(a), p. 526; 121(a), p. 239; 124(a), pp. 97, 104-6, 120-2, 126, 135, 139-41; 127(a), pp. 187, 210-3; 136(a), pp. 691-2; 145(c), pp. 89, 110; 145(d), pp. 23, 145-9; 150(d), p. 334; 154(a); 156(a), pp. 187-8; 157(d), pp. 17, 78-95.

(4) Rent

See references

16(a), pp. 174, 179; 17(a), pp. 93, 162-4, 199; 22(a), sec. v; 32(a), pp. 13, 17; 43(a), p. 735; 46(f), p. 17; 52(a), index; 57(g), pp. 300-1; 57(r), p. 140; 63(a); 81(a), pp. 47-56; 93(a), pp. 194, 217; 100(a), p. 898; 105(a), index; 105(b), p. 47; 110(a), pp. 36-7, 41; 114(a), p. 3; 118(a); 124(a), pp. 105, 140-2; 145(c), p. 89; 145(d), pp. 23, 148-9; 150(d), p. 334; 154(a); 156(a), p. 187; 157(d), chap. 7.

(5) Lodgers

See references

17(a), pp. 155-65; 22(a), sec. v, pp. 5-10; 25(a), p. 37; 57(d), p. 409; 63(a), p. 112; 78(a), p. 178; 81(a), p. 54; 110(a), p. 39; 157(d), pp. 86-8.

(6) Home Ownership

See references

2(a), p. 7; 17(a), pp. 216-20; 22(a), secs. iv and v; 32(a), p. 24; 46(d), p. 71; 63(a), chap. 6; 110(a), pp. 26-7, 38; 151(a), p. 294; 157(d), pp. 106-8, 136-43.

9. Vital Statistics and Health

See references:

2(a), p. 9; 16(a), p. 179; 22(a), sec. vi; 26(a); 26(b); 26(c); 26(d); 26(e); 26(f); 32(a), pp. 54-61; 38(a), pp. 27-8; 44(b), pp. 42-54; 45(a); 46(d), pp. 70-1; 48(e), p. 322; 49(a); 57(a), p. 642; 57(d), pp. 409-10; 57(g), p. 341; 62(b), p. 974; 62(e); 101(a), p. 999; 104(a); 109(a), p. 571; 110(a), pp. 33-4, 44-52; 118(a); 118(b); 119(a), pp. 172-9, 189-91; 121(a); 145(d), pp. 143-5, 153; 146(a); 146(b); 148(a); 150(a); 156(a), p. 189; 157(a), pp. 41, 52-3, 62; 157(c), p. 171; 157(d), pp. 33-6, 90.

10. Social Maladjustment

See references:

1(a), p. 620; 2(a), p. 13; 9(a); 17(a), chap. 7, pp. 327-56, 621; 22(a), secs. ix and xii; 25(a), p. 49; 32(a), pp. 47-54;

33(a); 46(j), pp. 37-8; 55(a); 57(g), p. 341; 61(a); 70(a), p. 235; 72(a); 76(a), p. 416; 92(a); 95(a); 99(a); 110(a), pp. 69-72; 111(a); 114(a), p. 4; 118(a); 118(b); 119(a), pp. 345-9, 355-7, 361-3; 120(a), p. 527; 122(a); 128(a); 139(a); 145(d), pp. 138-43; 154(a); 155(a); 156(a), pp. 188-9; 157(a), pp. 127-8, 131; 157(c), p. 171; 157(d), pp. 227-8.

11. Migration and the Educational Situation

See references:

2(a), p. 13; 17(a), pp. 93, 238-70, 614-5; 22(a), sec. viii; 25(a), pp. 66-71; 31(a), p. 556; 32(a), pp. 71-2; 41(a); 43(a), p. 731; 44(b). pp. 19-24; 57(g), p. 340; 78(a), p. 178; 81(a), pp. 42-4; 89(c), p. 988; 92(a); 93(a), p. 177; 94(a), p. 690; 108(a); 110(a), pp. 57-61; 111(a), p. 1; 117(a), p. 538; 118(a); 118(b); 120(a), p. 526; 126(a); 145(d), pp. 11-12; 153(a); 157(d), pp. 18, 173-200.

12. Migration and Politics

See references:

13(a); 13(b); 17(a), p. 3; 22(a), sec. xi, p. 7; 25(a), chap. 6; 32(a), pp. 30-1; 37(a); 59(a), p. 406; 62(b), p. 973; 94(a), p. 690; 110(a), p. 90; 114(a), p. 4; 136(a), p. 692; 145(d), pp. 124-5; 153(a).

13. Migration and Church

See references:

17(a), pp. 94, 142-6; 22(a), sec. x; 32(a), p. 24; 46(d), p. 72; 46(f); 46(k), pp. 266-7; 57(a), p. 642; 58(a); 63(b), p. 65; 66(a); 75(a), p. 39; 81(a), pp. 45-6; 92(a); 94(a), p. 690; 110(a), p. 62; 118(a); 119(a), pp. 332-3; 124(a), p. 144; 153(a); 157(c), p. 162.

14. Migration and Recreation

See references:

2(a), p. 11; 17(a), pp. 341, 271-97, 616-9; 22(a), sec. vii; 37(a); 46(f), p. 25; 57(g), p. 301; 58(a); 63(b); 72(a); 92(a); 93(a), p. 217; 110(a), pp. 53-6; 118(b); 145(d), pp. 152-5; 150(c); 150(d), p. 334; 157(d), part 4.

15. Effect of Migration on Race Relations

See references:

2(a); 10(a), pp. 171-3; 10(b), pp. 347-8; 17(a), chaps. 1, 2 and 6, pp. 244-325, 614-21; 22(a), sec. ii, pp. 19-20; 25(a), pp. 54-65; 29(a); 36(a); 44(b); 46(d), p. 73; 46(i); 53(b);

57(d), p. 406; **57(f)**, p. 325; **59(a)**, pp. 406-7; **62(b)**, pp. 969-70; **63(b)**; **65(a)**, p. 89; **70(a)**; **70(b)**, pp. 206-7; **81(a)**, p. 26; **92(a)**; **93(a)**, p. 177; **94(a)** p. 690; **94(b)**, chap. 9, pp. 174-83; **107(a)**, pp. 15-6; **110(a)**, pp. 53-6; **111(a)**; **113(a)**, p. 603; **119(a)**, pp. 418-9; **120(a)**, p. 527; **123(a)**, p. 565; **124(a)**, pp. 39-45, 100; **127(a)**, pp. 187, 212-3; **136(a)**, pp. 691-2; **142(a)**; **145(c)**, pp. 26-7, 30; **145(d)**, pp. 129-35; **150(c)**; **152(b)**; **153(a)**; **156(a)**, p. 179; **156(b)**, pp. 515, 532-3, 538; **157(c)**, pp. 167, 171; **157(d)**, pp. 17, 68, 77.

16. Migrant and Northern Negroes

See references:

22(a), sec. ii, pp. 18-21; **27(a)**; **46(f)**, p. 10; **46(h)**, p. 455; **81(a)**, p. 10; **93(a)**, pp. 177, 216; **110(a)**, pp. 88-91; **113(a)**, pp. 602-3; **117(a)**, p. 539; **124(a)**, pp. 112, 136, 164; **150(d)**, p. 334; **156(a)**, pp. 186-7; **157(c)**, pp. 155-6.

17. Effect of Migration on Activities of Welfare Organizations

See references:

10(a), p. 173; **10(b)**. pp. 348-9; **17(a)**, pp. 141-51, 192-4; **31(a)**, p. 557; **32(a)**, p. 68; **36(a)**; **46(d)**, pp. 72-3; **48(e)**, p. 322; **62(a)**; **93(a)**, p. 176; **110(a)**, pp. 77, 82; **118(b)**; **124(a)**, pp. 103-5, 121, 126-9, 137-8; **145(d)**, pp. 23, 152-5; **150(d)**, pp. 334-5; **151(a)**, p. 288; **157(d)**, chaps. 14 and 16.

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